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WOMEN WORKERS
IN
GHANA, KENYA, ZAMBIA:

A COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS OF WOMEN'S EMPLOYMENT IN THE MODERN WAGE SECTOR

BY

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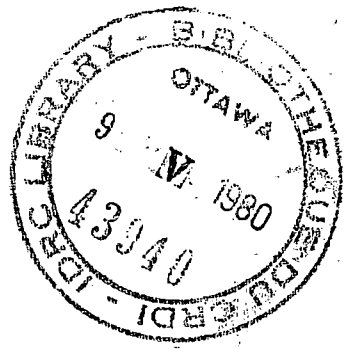

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Abstract

This study is undertaken against the background of growing unemployment and scarcity of skills facing African countries. With increased investment in educational opportunities for women that has occurred since independence in most African countries, the problem of women's employment takes on added significance. Having invested in girls' education, it is desirous that such investments yield the maximum returns, given the resource constraints in developing economies. Thus, it is necessary to study the question of employment for women to ensure 1) that women do not add to the dimensions of the unemployment problem, and 2) that they contribute to the nation's efforts to reduce specific manpower shortages.

Given the foregoing, the central concern of the study is with the role that education and training can play in enabling women to obtain more employment opportunities. Specifically, how do we broaden women's employment opportunities through education, training and career guidance so that they achieve a greater share in modern sector wage employment? In answering this question, the study traces the growth of women's employment in the wage sector, analyses the situation of women in employment by industry and occupation, examines the factors determining women's participation in the modern wage sector, assesses the prospects for increasing the absolute and relative numbers of women in employment and broadening the range of occupations in which they might be employed and identifies employment opportunities that could be exploited and developed to create (new) jobs for women.

The study concludes that under present conditions the prospects for increasing the numbers of women in wage employment are far from encouraging. However, it recognises the fact that certain policy moves could alter this projection considerably. Recommendations on how developments in education and training programmes among others, could broaden female employment opportunities are arrived at. It is argued that should such recommendations be pursued improvements in the female employment situation can be expected, given structural shifts underway in the economy and skill shortages facing the countries studied.

Dedication

This study is dedicated foremost to my parents, who are primarily responsible for what I am today, my husband, and my daughter, Bahia.

Secondly, it is dedicated to all African women, on the continent and in "diaspora," in tribute to their participation in and contribution to every aspect of Africa's struggle.

Olubanke Akerele

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The author expresses her gratitude to the Economic Commission for Africa (ECA) where the idea for the study originated, and for its assistance in facilitating her fieldwork. She is also indebted to the UNDP in Accra, Lusaka and Nairobi, the ECA Regional Office in Lusaka, the Directorate of Personnel in Nairobi and the Manpower Division, Ministry of Finance and Economic Planning in Accra for their assistance in her research in the field.

Views expressed in this study are those of the author and do not necessarily represent the views of the United Nations.

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Preface

This study is intended to establish a factual basis for the formulation of appropriate policies for addressing the problem of women's employment in the modern sector in African countries. The study is selective in coverage and makes no pretensions at treating all facets of the subject matter. However, it does represent an attempt to look at the problem in some detail. It should be seen primarily as a source of information on the subject. It is hoped that the study will stimulate further research on the problem.

The study undertakes a comparative analysis of women's employment in Ghana, Zambia and Kenya, against a background of the manpower and unemployment situation in the respective countries. Constraints on and prospects for women's employment in the modern wage sector are assessed leading to the derivation of action-oriented policy recommendations.

Definitions

1. Labour Force. A country's labour force or economically active population is generally defined as consisting of the employed and unemployed 15 years or more actually seeking employment and available for the production of economic goods and services.

According to the standard internationally recommended for developing countries the labour force includes persons available for work though not seeking work. Among the countries studied, only Zambia employs this latter definition.

2. Labour Force Participation Rate (LFPR). The LFPR, or activity rate, is the ration of the economically active population to the total population. Stated differently, it is the proportion of the population classified as being in the labour force. (This is the crude LFPR or crude activity rate).

The refined LFPR, or refined activity rate, is the proportion of the population 15 years or more who are in the labour force.

3. Employed. As defined by the International Labour Organization, the employed are persons who have wage jobs or are own-account employers and workers or unpaid family workers. Women occupied solely in domestic duties are not considered employed and therefore not included in this definition. (See ILO, Yearbook of Labour Statistics, Geneva, 1972). This study follows the same practice.

4. Unemployment. This can be both "open" and "disguised" unemployment. Open unemployment exists when those seeking work at a given wage level are unable to find work. This is a phenomenon of urban centres in developing countries. It is with this type of unemployment that the study is concerned. Disguised unemployment or underemployment, while present in both urban and rural areas, is more closely identified with agriculture in the rural economy. It exists where seemingly employed persons are actually unemployed (hence the designation "disguised unemployment") or underemployed, because of extremely low work productivity. Rural work productivity has been found to be about a quarter or half the normal work productivity in developing countries.

5. Modern Sector. This comprises both self employment and wage employment, characterised by the use of modern technology and economic organization and relationships governed by the mechanism of the labour market and economic sector.

The supply and demand for labour is organised by the mechanism of the labour market. The basic criteria for the definition of "modern sector employment" used in the study is wage earning employment. Hence the focus on the modern wage sector. Wage earners in domestic service are generally excluded from the scope of modern sector employment since they tend to be subject to traditional working conditions and do or can participate in modern labour organization only to a limited extent. (See "Modern Sector Employment", International Labour Review, Vol. XC, No. 6, December, 1964).

6. Traditional Sector. This sector is characterised by unpaid family workers or household enterprise, its basic economic feature being low levels of technology and productivity. This sector exists in both urban and rural centres.

7. Formal Sector. This is synonomous with the modern sector as defined earlier and is used in contradistinction to the concept of the "informal sector".

8. Informal Sector. This comprises economic activities of the traditional urban and rural sectors. Such activities are generally not captured in establishment surveys, though they account for by far the greater proportion of employment in the countries studied. The term "informal sector" was developed by Sussex economists as a result of insights gained into the dynamics operating in the oft-reputed low productivity economic sector of the Kenyan economy (See ILO, Employment, Incomes and Equality, a Strategy for Increasing Productive Employment in Kenya, Geneva, 1972). Informal sector employment is generally self or family employment.

9. Educated . Defined here as women with a minimum of 6 years of primary schooling. The length of primary school education varies between 7 - 8 years of basic education in the countries studied.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

I. Background

A) Context

During the decade of the sixties concern in the developing world focussed upon the achievement of certain targeted rates of economic growth.[1] Such achievement was considered the first step towards alleviating the problems of poverty and underdevelopment faced by these countries. By the beginning of the second Development Decade in the seventies, however, it had become apparent that high rates of growth per se were clearly insufficient to tackle the problems of underdevelopment and ever-increasing unemployment. One study states that Governments, international organisations and social scientists alike are drawing attention to one of the most pressing consequences of this situation, namely, loss of economic opportunity and the social disruptions inherent in the rising incidence of worklessness in the developing countries.[2]

As a result, concern with improving the conditions of poverty has focussed recently on alleviating mass unemployment and expanding employment opportunities. In Africa, such concern has been translated into emphasis on the development and effective utilization of the continent's human resources. Faced with the paradoxical problem of growing unemployment and an acute scarcity of skills,[3] African countries have realized the necessity of bringing all sections of the population into the development process. The emphasis on rural development and employment promotion in recent development plans underscores this trend.

Within this context, the role of women in the development process has taken on added significance. Thus, among the stated goals and objectives of the Decade is "the encouragement of the full integration of women in the total development effort."[4] The results of a United Nations questionnaire revealed that the measures being taken in many countries to increase the participation of women (in economic and social development) are prompted not so much by a desire to bring about a fundamental change in the role of men and women in society as by the realization that overall development requires a greater utilization of the potential labour force.[5]

This study derives its justification from the growing concern with the development and effective utilization of human resources in the development process and the problems of unemployment and skill shortage facing African countries. Constituting approximately 50 per cent of Africa's potential labour force, Africa's woman-power must be harnessed to contribute to the solution of these problems and the development process generally.

B) Statement of the Problem

Despite recognition of the seriousness of the unemployment situation facing African countries, little is known about the exact nature and extent of the problem. This problem has two components: open and disguised unemployment (underemployment), the latter more characteristic of the rural areas. The phenomenon of open mass unemployment, the reference point for this study, results from the rapid urbanization that has occurred over the past ten years in Africa. This trend, referred to as the rural-urban drift, is continuing unabated.

Rural-urban drift is symbolic of deteriorating conditions of life in the rural areas and the low productivity rural sector. This is the "push" which encourages migration to the urban centres. Operating also is a certain attraction by the towns, with bright lights and promises of work opportunities. This is the "pull" factor. The tendency for social amenities to be concentrated in the towns, of a higher probability of obtaining wage-earning jobs, together with higher wages in the towns, means that the urban resident is comparatively better off than his rural counterpart.

However, the fact that the urban areas are unable to deliver their promises, given limited employment opportunities, does not result in a movement "back to the land". The migrants remain to swell the unemployment problem. The increasing output from the school system that finds its way into the labour market yearly is either a part of this phenomenon or simply adds to the dimensions of the problem. Hence, the development of the "school leaver" problem.

The unemployment problem is an enormous one. It is clear that if the dimensions of the problem are to be appreciated, there is a need to probe and analyse the problem as it affects particular groups in society. Considerable research has already been undertaken on one such group - the school leavers.[6] As a result, a substantial amount of knowledge has been accumulated and is available for incorporation into policy prescriptions for addressing the school leavers employment problem.

Very little, if any, systematic research has been conducted on the female employment problem in African countries. That problem can be briefly stated as a component of the general paucity of employment opportunities, resulting in a greater incidence of unemployment among women, than men. Hard data substantiating this is available in the findings of a recent International Labour Organization (ILO) mission on the employment problem to Kenya.[7] However, studies have documented cases of dislocations of women from the labour force in African countries as they are deprived of many of their traditional farming activities as modern production techniques replace older ones.[8]

This has resulted in a "situation with women participating heavily in the traditional sectors of production, processing and distributing while they are (excepting the highly-educated) merely excluded from the modern sector."[9] Not only does such a situation make "little sense to development" but it clearly aggravates the unemployment problem and calls for some attention.

Thus, the female employment problem can be seen as part of the general manpower problem facing African countries. Given the desire for more effective utilization of human resources, the question arises of how can African women have an input in solving the unemployment problem and manpower shortages faced by their countries. As most African countries engage in the process of modernizing their economies, what role can women play in this process? Their participation in this process involves their employment in the modern sector in greater numbers and a greater variety of occupations.[10] Employment in the modern sector oould be in salaried and wage employment on the one hand, and in self and cooperative employment on the other. Thus, there exists the need to analyze the changing pattern of employment opportunities for girls and women in some depth on a long-term basis in order to:

a) avoid a wasteful orientation of education and training facilities in short supply;

b) avoid adding to the unemployment problem;

c) ensure that women play a role in meeting the extreme shortage of skilled manpower in Africa.

In this way the short-term manifestations of the problem and their policy implications can be placed in proper perspective.

Given the above, there is need to carefully consider the issues of expansion of employment opportunities for women. This study will be concerned only with those factors which influence African female participation in the modern salaried and wage sector. The main concern of the study is how to broaden women's employment opportunities through education, training and career guidance so as to stake a greater share in wage employment. With the expansion of educational opportunities for girls following independence in most African countries, increasing numbers of educated girls will be joining the labour force. Formerly, women's representation among the educated was small and the employment problem, the urban employment problem in particular, was primarily a male one. Now, women are being added to it.

Inasmuch as some education is, by and large, a prerequisite for modern sector employment (i.e. above the unskilled level), the study focuses on educated African women. "Educated" is defined broadly as a minimum of six years of primary schooling and "modern sector" as the money, wage sector. This focus on the "educated" is consistent with the study's interest in the role that education and training can play in enabling females to obtain more employment opportunities. Having invested in girls' education, obtaining maximum returns from such investments is crucial.

As more girls will be leaving the educational system during the next decade, it is desirous that the dimensions of the female employment problem are understood before the situation gets out of control.

C) Aim and Scope of the Study

This study examines the situation of women in modern sector wage employment with a focus on the broadening of employment opportunities for women in the modern sectors of African countries. The study will:

a) trace briefly the growth of female employment in the modern wage sector;

b) analyze the present situation of women in wage employment by industry and occupations;

c) assess the prospects for increasing the absolute and relative numbers and range of occupations in which females might be employed;

d) identify employment opportunities that can be exploited and developed in full to create jobs for women; identifying also the implications for education and training of these opportunities.

In the course of the study an endeavour will be made to identify the supply and demand factors which have determined, and are likely to determine in the future, the female participation rate in the modern sector. These factors include education and training, availability of jobs, culture and attitudes, and labour regulations.

The specific objective of the study is to establish a factual basis for the formulation of appropriate policies for addressing the female employment problem. This is accomplished by examination of selected dimensions of the female employment problem resulting in the indication of lines of action that a country might explore in depth. This is therefore an operationally oriented study, and hence the derivation of action-oriented policy recommendations at the end of the study.

D) Value of Study

The value of the study can be viewed from three perspectives. Firstly, the study is intended to contribute to a more thorough understanding of the dynamics of female employment in the modern sector in African countries. Being exploratory in nature, the study can be viewed as a point of departure for stimulating more research into the problem. Secondly, it is hoped that the findings of the study will be of interest to African Governments in their efforts at more effective utilization of human resources and generation of employment opportunities. Given the treatment of the problem against the background of unemployment and skill shortage, the study can be useful to Governments as a basis for developing training programs for the more effective utilization of the female labour force. Thirdly, the study could prove valuable as a guide to young girls and women in terms of career choice, to vocational guidance counsellors, as well as older women contemplating changing careers (as in Kenya), from teachers and practical nurses into industry, as an example.

II. Methodology

The methodological aspect of the study comprises two components: 1) the method by which the study was arrived at; and 2) the approach chosen for analysis of the problem investigated.

As regards the former, the data for the study was assembled in two stages, each involving a three-month period from July to September in 1973 and 1974. The first three-month period was essentially one of preparatory research. This involved a literature search and desk study of available literature and statistical sources on the subject matter available at the Economic Commission for Africa and International Labour Organization Regional Office for Africa in Ethiopia. The objective of this stage was to assess the current state of knowledge on the subject matter and official position on the problem area. Information of a primarily statistical nature was obtained at this stage, resulting in a first draft, or preliminary study of the situation in a selected number of countries. Qualitative information at that stage was obtained from reports of conferences and seminars held in recent years on the problem of female employment in Africa.[11]

The second three-month period involved visits to the countries covered, to assess recent developments in, and future prospects for, female employment in the modern sector of the economy. Interviews were held with public and private organisations, officials and other individuals concerned with employment and employment planning. The results of the country visits were used to refine the findings of the preliminary study. The country visits were necessary to 1) obtain current statistical information on the subject matter; 2) obtain information which is not readily quantifiable and generally not available from statistical sources;

3) help in a more realistic evaluation and interpretation of the statistical data. Thus, the "on the spot" assessment of the situation permitted by the country visits resulted in a qualitative expansion of the study. It permitted, in turn, making the study more meaningful. An illustration of how the two phases were integrated to arrive at the final study can be found in the treatment of the conference findings mentioned earlier. In the preliminary study, data from conference findings identified the existence of "jobs in the modern sector that abound for women if only they would come forward." The field work data was used to assess realistically the extent to which these jobs did exist.

The study relies heavily on quantitative data from secondaary sources such as Government and International Organization publications as well as other statistical sources. Primary information (obtained during the field enquiries), mostly qualitative in nature, complements these sources. Some of the tables presented are new in that they were constructed from data extracted from a variety of sources or derived from other statistical sources to provide an overview of the situation of female participation in modern sector wage employment.

The approach adopted here for investigation of the problem of employment opportunities for African females consists of a comparative analysis of the subject matter in three African countries: Ghana, Kenya and Zambia. Through a comparison of labour force and employment data on women in wage employment and the factors affecting their participation in wage employment, an assessment of the prospects for broadening female employment in the modern wage sector is made.

Two considerations governed the choice of countries for study. Foremost was the desire to have countries representative of Africa south of Sahara. Preference was given to countries that had already achieved a reasonable level of economic development (e.g., infrastructural development, educational attainment) or countries with considerable resource potential for development. Secondly, each of the countries chosen for investigation had certain characteristics which indicated they might be good cases for a study of this nature.

Thus, Ghana was chosen from West Africa. There women have historically exercised a very important role in the traditional trade and commerce sectors. Such a history of high female involvement in non-agricultural economic activities. It was felt, would influence positively the extent and nature of female employment in the modern sector. Representative of the East African region was Kenya. With impressive achievements in both agricultural development and small and medium scale industry, Kenya has a fast growing tourist industry. Such a development has important implications for labour absorption, and is suggestive of possibilities for the development of new employment areas for women.

Zambia, also from the East African area, but exhibiting very different characteristics from Kenya, was the third choice. An extractive-based economy with a rich resource base (copper) for development purposes, Zambia is a country with an extreme paucity of educated and skilled manpower. This situation necessitated the recruitment of expatriate manpower on a large scale immediately after independence. Given the manpower and employment perspective of the study, the inclusion of Zambia was considered ideal.

III. Limitations

The study has four main limitations:

1) Data — these limitations are of two types. The first is the general lack of statistical information on the subject matter. This necessitated the use of both official and non-official sources. In certain cases, this meant scrutinizing sources for any information that provided a clue to the female employment situation.

The second kind of data problem lies in the fact that comparable data was oftentimes not available for three countries. Where, for example, both the Ghanaian and Kenyan official statistics on wage employment are classified by sex, Zambian statistics are not. In such a situation, the analysis of female wage employment is confined to Ghana and Kenya. In other cases, the data simply proved insufficient upon which to base any analysis. In still other instances, the fact that volumes of the recent censuses containing information on the economically active population and its distribution had yet to be published at the time of writing made it difficult to undertake certain analyses.

2) The concentration of the study on a small minority of African women in employment in the modern sector, when the vast majority (about 90 per cent) are engaged in economic activities outside this sector will entail a certain amount of criticism. It could justifably be argued that it is amongst the 90 per cent of women engaged in agricultural and other traditional economic activities in the rural and urban areas that need is greatest. Need, that is, for alleviating their employment conditions[12] and provision of training opportunities to facilitate the modernization of such activities.[13] Furthermore, the focus on wage employment excludes the important area of self-employment which tends to be a stronghold of female employment in Africa.

Both contentions are well-taken. As regards the former, it should be pointed out that while the needs of women in the rural area are deserving of urgent consideration, they are not the concern of the present study.[14] This study is interested in the role that education and training can play in improving the situation of women in wage employment. On the second argument, although the area of self-employment is not treated in the analysis, in as much as modern sector employment also includes self and cooperative employment, this dimension is discussed in the concluding chapter. Furthermore, since it is in self-employment that the bulk of women are to found, to omit this entirely in a

study of this kind would be to neglect a crucial area for female employment expansion.

3) In its assessment of areas for increased female employment, the study exhibits a tendency to concentrate on the middle level manpower category,[15] at the expense of the high lelel manpower category.[16] While not neglected entirely, the discussion tends not to emphasise high level manpower as much. This is because the area of high level manpower has already received considerable attention elsewhere.[17] Furthermore, it is generally agreed that middle level manpower is in extremely short supply in Africa, though there has been little systematic work in the area.[18] The extreme shortages experienced by many African countries in this skilled manpower area often has important implications for the effective utilization of high level manpower.

4) Given the limitations of time, this study is far from an exhaustive treatment of the subject matter. Being an exploratory study, its conclusions are more suggestive than definitive.

IV. Organisation of Study

As the point of departure of the study is the overall manpower and employment problem facing African countries, Chapter II undertakes a comparative analysis of the manpower and employment situation in the three countries. Since the study isolates women as one component of a nation's manpower and analyses the employment problem of this group, it is imperative that the over-all manpower and human resources problems of the countries are identified at the outset. Thus, Chapter II provides the the necessary background on population, labour force and participation rates for the economy, including an international persepctive. It also identifies the general employment situation and the extent of wage employment in the three countries. Issues of a theoretical nature regarding the female labour force participation rates are highlighted.

Chapter III, Women in Modern Sector Wage Employment, discusses the present situation of women in wage employment both quantitatively and qualitatively. The evolution of female participation in wage employment is presented from both industrial sector and occupational dimensions. Future trends are also identified.

Chapter IV, Constraints on the Employment of Women, identifies those factors responsible for the level and pattern of female participation in the modern sector. The constraints so identified are essentially the same constraints or obstacles in the way of expanding employment opportunities for women.

Chapter V, Prospects for Female Employment, makes projections on the basis of information contained in Chapters II and III. Considerations include the general employment situation, Governments'

policy to redress the unemployment problem, sectoral shifts as regards employment in the economy, the supply and demand for skilled manpower and orientation of education and training programmes for generation of manpower needs, among others. The concept prospects is used in the sense of possibilities (good or bad; bright or bleak). Thus Chapter IV can be viewed as making an assessment of the prospects for expanding and broadening employment for women. The word prospects is chosen deliberately to inject a sense of realism. The chapter identifies a number of employment areas in which opportunities could be exploited for the development of (new) jobs for women, thereby broadening their employment opportunities.

Chapter VI, Conclusions and Policy Implications, summarises the main findings of the study. Action-oriented policy recommendations are derived on the basis of these findings. The implications of the findings for developing training programmes are stressed as are the implications for vocational guidance.

Footnotes: Chapter I

1. The aim of the programme for the Decade was to achieve a "minimum annual rate of aggregate national income of 5 per cent in all—or at the very least, the great majority—of under-developed countries by 1979." (The United Nations Development Decade, Proposal for Action, (New York: United Nations. U.N. publication sales no. 62.11.B.2), p.8.)

2. International Labour Organisation (ILO), "Problem of Employment Promotion in Pakistan," Employment Research Papers, (Geneva: ILO, 1971).

3. I.J. Balaba, "Africa's Manpower Requirements in Women in Economic and Social Development in Africa," Report of Berlin Conference, German Foundation for Developing Countries, (1970), II, pp. 7-15.

4. United Nations General Assembly Resolution 2626 (XXV),

5. United Nations Commission on the Status of Women, "Participation of Women in Economic and Social Development of their Countries," E/CN. 6/513/Rev. 1, (New York: United Nations, 1970).

6. Tom Boyd and Sarah French, "A Summary of Research Findings on Secondary School Leaver Employment in Ghana," in Manpower and Unemployment Research in Africa, (April, 1973), VI, 1: Kinjanjul, "Education, Training and Employment of Secondary School Leavers in Kenya," IDS, (University of Nairobi, August, 1972), Discussion Paper No. 138; and M. Peil, "Ghana Middle School Leavers" in Manpower and Unemployment Research in Africa, (November, 1970), III, 2.

7. ILO, Employment, Incomes and Equality, A Strategy for Increasing Productive Employment in Kenya, (Geneva: ILO, 1972).

8. E. Boserup, Women's Role in Economic Development, (New York: St. Martins Press, 1970).

9. UNECA, "Women, The Neglected Human Resource," in Canadian Journal of African Studies, VI, 11 (1972), p. 369. Subsequently revised and entitled, "The Changing Role of Women in African Development," (January, 1974).

10. Ibid.

11. These include ILO, Employment and Conditions of Work of African Women, 1964 (Addis Ababa); ECA, Regional Meeting on Role of Women in National Development, 1969 (Addis Ababa);

Conference on Vocational Training and Work Opportunities for Girls and Women in African Countries, 1971 (Rabat); Conference on Women in Economic and Social Development in Africa, 1970 (Berlin).

12. ILO, Employment, Incomes, and Equality, pp. 358-359.

13. See Dr. K. King, Skill Acquisition in the Informal Sector of an African Economy — the Kenya Case, (Centre for African Studies, University of Edinburgh, January, 1973).

14. Work on this dimension of the female employment problem is underway at the IDS, University of Nairobi and the African Training and Research Centre for Women, Economic Commission for Africa, Addis Ababa, among other places.

15. These include primary and lower secondary school non-graduate teachers; engineering technicians and scientific assistants; qualified nursing staff, medical technicians, agricultural technicians and technician-level personnel in other fields; secretaries and other clerical staff; supervisors and foreman in all sectors; craftsmen and skilled workers.

16. Occupations for which university level education is required.

17. See, for example, UNECA, "Programme proposals for meeting Africa's requirement of critical manpower needed for development," (E/CN 14/WP-G/20), Addis Ababa, Ethiopia; and UNECA, "Trained Manpower Requirements for Accelerated Economic Growth in the East African Sub-region," (E.CN-14/LU/ECOP-9), Addis Ababa, Ethiopia; and ECA, "Africa's Requirements of Trained Manpower in Critical Areas of Development Activities," (E/CN-14/WP-6/22) Addis Ababa, September, 1968).

18. See UNECA, MPTR, Study of Middle Level Manpower Requirements and Training Needs, 14B4 Priority B(b) (v) (Addis Ababa, Ethiopia, 1974), and UNECA, MPTR, Evaluation Study of Secondary School Enrolment and Output in Relation to Middle Level Manpower Requirementin Selected African Countries, 14B4 Priority (B) (b) (X), (Addis Ababa, Ethiopia, 1974).

Chapter II

OVERALL MANPOWER AND EMPLOYMENT PERSPECTIVE

This chapter undertakes an analysis of the manpower and employment situation in Ghana, Kenya and Zambia thereby providing perspective for the treatment of the subject matter.

I. Population and Labour Force

A) Population and Growth Rate

Certain basic characteristics of Africa's population are: 1) the continent's population in the mid-1960s totalled about 240 million or 9 per cent of the world's population, with the highest concentration being in West Africa, followed by the Eastern and Northern regions:[1] 2) the slight predominance of the female population (50.2 per cent), though Northern and Western Africa diverge from such a tendency; 3) the relative youthfulness of the population, 43 per cent being under 15 years of age. This latter characteristic indicates the heavy dependency feature of the population with consequent implications for the continent's manpower potential. During the period 1950-1960, a 2.18 per cent annual rate of population growth was recorded for the continent as a whole.[2] Table I summarizes certain basic population data for Ghana, Kenya and Zambia.

Table I: Population and Growth Rate (in thousands)

Country	Year	Total Population	Annual Rate of Growth	Per Cent Females
Ghana	1970	8,550.3	2.7[a]	50.4
Kenya	1969	10,942.7	3.5[b]	49.9
Zambia	1969	5,057.8	2.5[c]	51.0

Source: Census of Population and Housing, 1969, Final Report, Vol. I: total Zambia (Government Printer, Nov. 1973) Census office, 1970 Population Census of Ghana, Vol. II. (Accra, June 1972); Kenya Population Census, Vol. I. 1969 (Nairobi): a: 1960-1970; b: 1974; c: 1963-1969.

From the table, it will be seen that Kenya has the highest annual rate of population growth (3.5 per cent) followed by Ghana (2.7 per cent) and Zambia (2.5 per cent) in descending order. It is instructive that in both Kenya and Ghana, the Governments have adopted an official family planning policy with the objective of curbing their high rates of growth.

Among the three countries, the proportion of females in the total population is highest in Zambia (51.0 per cent) followed by almost similar proportions in Ghana (50.4 per cent) and Kenya (49.9 per cent).

B) Labour Force and Labour Force Participation Rates

The labour force or economically active population is defined to be that proportion of the population 15 years or older, employed, or unemployed and actively seeking work. This is the criteria used for defining the labour force in Kenya and Ghana. In Zambia the definition also includes those unemployed but "not looking for work".

The problem of defining who is in the labour force is a particularly acute one for developing countries. This is especially important in the case of women since most women in Africa are engaged in unpaid family work in the rural areas on the farms. Statistics tend to underestimate the proportion of economically active females in these countries. Thus, in the 1969 population census for Zambia, the labour force was underestimated by some 130,000 persons due primarily to improper classification of self-employed subsistence farm workers, the majority of whom (about 90,000) were women. As a result, adjustments had to be made to the labour force participation rates derived from the census. Because of this problem, there is a tendency for female economic activity rates to vary considerably from one country to another. Thus, sharp differences in the female labour force participation rates must be interpreted with caution.

The concept of labour force participation rates, or activity rates, employed here to measure the relative size of the labour force in the three countries, requires clarification. The crude activity rate is the ratio of the economically active population to the total population — the proportion of the population classified as being in the labour force. The refined activity rate is the ratio of the actual labour force to the potential labour force — the proportion of persons 15 years or older who are in the labour force. The refined rate is a more meaningful one and is therefore preferred to the crude rate. However, international comparisons tend to be based on the crude activity rates as data on the sex-age activity rates (refined activity rates) tend to be scantier and more unreliable generally. Though the discussion makes reference to refined rates, it therefore concentrates on crude activity rates. Table II summarises statistical infomration on the labour force for the three countries.

Table II. Economically Active Population (in thousands) and Activity Rates (per cent)

Country	Year	Economically Active			Crude Activity Rates			Refined Activity Rates		
		Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female
Ghana	1960	2,723.0	1,677.0	1,045.9	41.0	49.3	31.4	73.0	89.0	56.7
Ghana	1970	3,331.6	1,859.3	1,472.2	38.9	43.8	34.1	73.3	83.5	63.6
Kenya	1970	3,818.3	2,601.7	1,216.6	34.0[E]	45.9	21.6	70.1	95.0	45.0[a]
Zambia	1969	1,338.0	898.0	440.0	32.7	44.1	21.3	60.3	81.8	39.2

Source: Census Office, 1960 and 1970 Population Census, Accra Ghana, vol. II, June 1962 and June 1972; Ministry of Labour, Annual Report, 1970, p.1, table 3.1, Nairobi, Kenya; also Report of Select Committee on Unemployment, Nirobi, December 1970; Republic of Zambia, Planning Committee, "Population, Labour Force Employment and Migration Planning," (mimeographed, corrected), pp. 12, 15, 16, 1971; a: Kenya Statistical Digest, June 1971.
E: Estimates.

Before beginning a discussion based on Table II, the following observations on the data are called for: One, although the statistics on Ghana and Zambia are from population census of the relevant years, this is not true for Kenya. Inasmuch as the relevant volumes of the Kenya census providing information on the economically active population had not been published at the time of writing, other Governmental sources were used for deriving the necessary information on Kenya. Two, the figures on the economically active population for Zambia differ from the figures contained in the Zambia published Census Report (1969) since they represent "adjustments" to those figures taking account of the underestimation of the labour force contained in that report.[3] As a result, the crude labour force participation rates were revised upwards. In the case of females, this meant an increase from about 16 per cent to about 21 per cent.

From Table II, it will be seen that females comprise from about a third of the labour force in Zambia and Kenya to a little less than a half in Ghana in 1970 (not shown). Deserving particular mention is the fact that between 1960–1970 in Ghana the proportion they accounted for increased from 38.4 per cent to 44.2 per cent. As regards the crude activity rates, there is little variation in the male rates among the three countries, the exception being Ghana in 1960. Here, the decline over the ten-year period in male activity rates to a level nearer the other countries is due to certain developments highlighted later. Comparatively, it is interesting that these rates are lower than the world's average of 58.3 per cent for males in the mid sixties.

The crude activity rates reveal a consistent pattern of higher male activity rates than females. This is as one would have expected given our knowledge of the role of women as mothers and homemakers which affects their participation in the labour force. It is interesting to note further that the percentage difference between the male and female crude activity rates is rather large (on the order of 24) for Kenya and Zambia and considerably smaller in the case of Ghana (about 10). A comparison of the refined activity rates reveal a similar pattern, though the percentage points difference is much more pronounced.

The sharp differences in the refined activity rates for females between the three countries are only partly indicative of the extent of female participation in economic activities. It also reflects differences in calculating women's economic activity in certain countries, particularly Kenya and Zambia. There is, for example, evidence to suggest that the extent of female involvement in economic activities in these countries is much higher than the refined activity rates would have one believe.[4] The magnitude of the differences in activity rates between Kenya and Zambia compared to Ghana may further

reflect the greater difficulty involved in calculating women's economic participation rates where the greater proportion of women are involved in rural agricultural activities (Kenya and Zambia) as opposed to situation where considerably larger numbers of women are involved in non-agricultural activities such as trade and commerce (Ghana).

The foregoing qualifications notwithstanding, the table does suggest that females' involvement in economic activities (crude activity rates) tends to be higher in Ghana (34.1 per cent) followed by Kenya (21.6 per cent) and Zambia (21.3 per cent). Compared with the world's average of 27.2 per cent, Ghana's female activity rates are quite high while Zambia and Kenya's are rather low. The increase in activity rates among women in Ghana between 1960-1970 while the male activity rates experienced a decline is interesting and calls for an explanation. An analysis of the distribution of Ghana's economically active population in 1960 and 1970 revealed the following: 1) a decline in the proportion of males in the employed category from 83.2 per cent (1960) to 77.1 per cent (1970) compared with a rise in the proportion of females employed from 53.7 per cent (1960) to 61.1 per cent (1970): 2) a rise in the proportion of males in the "other" category which includes students, trainees and the disabled, from 10.4 per cent (1960) to 15.5 per cent (1970) compared with a rise in the proportion of females in that category from 6.7 per cent (1960) to 10.4 per cent (1970); 3) a decline in the proportion of females in the "homemaker" category from 36.7 per cent (1960) to 26.1 per cent (1970). Non-working housewives make up the majority of the "homemaker" group.[5]

The foregoing suggests that the increase in female activity rates in Ghana while the male rate declined, resulting in an increasing proportion of the labour force being accounted for by females (indicated earlier), is largely the result of increased school attendance among males. In the case of females, though they also experienced an increase in school attendance (indicated by females increased among the "other" category) the corresponding decline among women in the "homemaker" category appears to have outweighed the effect of the former on the extent of their participation in economic activities (note the increase in the proportion of women employed). This would seem to suggest a more inverse relationship between school attendance and participation in the labour force for males them in the case of females.

C) Trends and Prospects in Female Labour Force Participation Rates

This discussion of increased female activity rates in Ghana raises questions concerning future developments in the female activity rates in the three countries. Can they be expected to decline or increase?

To answer this requires considerations of a number of factors that influence the female activity rates. These include demographic factors such as fertility mortality and migration and social, cultural and economic factors. Such an undertaking could be the subject of an entire study by itself. The question is answered indirectly through a comparison of crude activity rates presented earlier with certain International Labour Organization (ILO) projections.[6] The discussion at this point is rather scanty since factors affecting female participation in wage employment are discussed at greater length in Chapter IV, and these tend generally to be similar if not the same as those affecting female participation rates overall.

A word on the ILO projections is in accord. In its methodological supplement to the projections, the ILO explains that the methods employed in arriving at changes in activity rates are based on an "international" rather than a uniquely "national" approach to labour force projections. Thus, "world-wide data for 1950 and 1960 show that in many countries the rates have varied considerably during the decade, that the rates for males generally decrease with economic and social development and that the rates from females generally decrease in the earlier stages of economic development, after which, during the more advanced stages, they begin to rise".[7] Observed patterns of the evaluation of the activity rates during the process of economic development in all parts of the world form an important element in the projected changes in activity rates arrived at by the ILO. Table III summarizes the ILO projections for Ghana, Kenya and Zambia as well as East and West Africa.

Table III: Crude Activity Rates
(ILO Projections, 1970 and 1980)(Per cent)

	Crude Actitity Rates					
	1970			1980		
	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total
Ghana	47.67	29.49	36.68	45.97	28.56	37.33
Kenya	53.05	27.13	39.94	51.20	25.55	38.27
Zambia	52.01	24.99	38.40	50.16	22.86	36.42
West Africa	52.35	33.41	42.90	49.39	31.02	40.18
East Africa	56.42	29.68	42.88	53.99	28.13	40.92

Source: ILO, Labour Force Projections, Part II: Africa, 1965-1985: pp. 110, 128, 134; Part V: World Summary, pp. 40-41.

Focussing on the female crude activity rates, a comparison with Table II shows that for 1970, the ILO projections underestimated Ghana's female activity rates. Given that in 1960, the female activity rate was 31.9 per cent in Ghana, the ILO's 1970 projection assumed a declining trend, following the international experience, and one continuing through 1980.

This same trend is indicated for West Africa as a whole, as shown in Table III. Such an evolution is viewed as reflecting "the fall in the proportion of women employed in agriculture, the growth of urbanisation and expansion of non-agricultural activities".[8] In the case of both Kenya and Zambia, a comparison of the 1970 projections with Table II results in ILO projections that are higher. The 1980 projections reveal a similar declining trend in female activity rates in the two countries and the East African Region as in the case of Ghana. The ILO 1970 projections may well have initially assumed relatively higher levels of female activity rates for Zambia and Kenya than were warranted. In the case of Zambia, since the 1969 population census was the first to provide sex-specific activity rates, the assumption of higher rates is plausible. However, the results of the census revealed relatively low levels of activity for both males and females in Zambia, contrary to what the international experience would have one believe.[9] The case of Kenya cannot be so easily explained and must await further insights on the economically active population when the relevant census volume is published.

The above discussion indicated divergences between projections of activity rates based on the international experiences and those more closely related to the particular country situations. The trends in Ghana's crude activity rates suggest increasing female participation in the labour force despite declining numbers of women in agriculture. This is surprising. In Kenya and Zambia the currently low levels of activity rates suggest the prospect of improvements in these rates. Although hard data substantiating this trend exist only in the case of Ghana, the exit from the "homemaker" to the "employed" category of females observed earlier points to the possibility of economic factors (financial necessity) behind the increasing female participation in the labour force.[10] Of equal importance among factors affecting the speed of change in the propensity of women to engage in economic activities is the impact of increasing school attendance among young women. As more females complete primary schooling in the future, the female activity rates will increase. As changes in the propensity of married women and unmarried women with children to work is facilitated by social legislation (e.g. liberal maternity coverage as in Ghana and Kenya), this will tend to encourage female participation in the wage labour force.

Finally increasing industrialisation should, it could be argued, increase female activity rates as was the Western world's experience; but this may not necessarily be the case as economic development in these countries has not been accompanied by substantial absorption of labour.[11] Under such conditions female workers have tended to be at a disadvantage. This situation could conceivably result in a decline in the female labour force participation rates over time.[12]

Where the decline of female employment in the subsistence sector is faster than the growth of employment in the modern sector, the result is a decline in the overall female participation rate.

For some actual statistics providing an international perspective, it is worth nothing that the ILO projections for Western Europe results in female activity rates of 28.75 per cent (1970) and 29.12 per cent (1980), while those for North America are 26.61 per cent (1970) and 28.15 per cent (1980). [13] Referring back to Table II, Ghana is seen to have a rather higher female activity rate and Kenya and Zambia relatively lower rates in comparison to Western Europe and North America. If, however, comparison was made of female participation in non-agricultural activities, the developed economies would make a better showing. One study has shown that the mean female participation in the non-agricultural sector in the industrialized world is 28.1 per cent compared with 12.3 per cent in the developing nations.[14]

D) Theoretical Considerations

One result of the application of economic analysis to explain some of the factors influencing labour force participation rates has been the development of a "theory of allocation of time" with which the economist Jacob Mincer is associated. [15] Briefly, Mincer analyses the problem of labour force behaviour of individuals (activity rates) as one of allocating time among alternative uses. The simplest of such alternatives is a two-way allocation of time between work in the labour market (time used in production) and leisure on education (time used in consumption). According to Mincer,

> Using this dichotomy, the effect of the wage rate on the quantity of labour supplied, measured in time units, can be analyzed in terms of the demand for leisure time, which is viewed as a consumption good. Standard demand analysis predicts the effects of changes in relative prices and in income on consumption; a rise in price of a good relative to prices of other goods leads to a decrease in its consumption—that is, a 'substitution effect' in favour of other goods; a rise in income normally (excepting 'inferior' goods) leads to an increase in consumption— the 'income effect.' Since the price of leisure is the foregone wage, a rise in the wage rate makes leisure more expensive, inducing the worker to work more; in effect, to 'purchase' less leisure. At the same time, however, an increase in the wage rate increases income, which leads to increased 'purchases' of leisure, that is, to decreased hours of work. Which of the two effects triumphs cannot be determined a priori. It depends on the relative preferences of individuals between utilities afforded by the purchasing power of wages and those resulting from the availability of leisure time. [16]

Applying this theory to married women, the problem of allocation of time becomes a choice between leisure, paid work in the labour market and household activity. The analysis of empirical research in this area from the United States has shown that the positive response of married women's labour force participation to their market wage rate is substantially stronger than their negative response to their husband's income. This suggests that a rise in women's market wage rate should result in the substitution of market activity for household activity among women.

To what extent is this theory of female labour supply applicable to the countries analysed and how, if at all, does it provide support for our expectation of increased female labour force participation? Concrete data indicating that the theory can be supported is unfortunately available only in the case of Ghana at the present time. Earlier, the decline in the proportion of women in the "homemakers" category in contrast to the rise in the proportion in the economically "active" category was pointed out. This increase occurred despite the rise in the proportion of women in the "students" category, it will be recalled. The trend of increasing equality of wages for the sexes[17] over the 1960-1970 period suggests that "attractive wages" for women workers were very likely the incentive for the substitution of labour market activity for the household activity that occurred. In this connexion, the results of a study on working mothers in Accra, 90 per cent worked because of financial incentives; 72 per cent emphasized financial consideration as the prime motive (more than any other factor) for their being working mothers. Such findings lend credence to the observation that economic and financial stress, real or perceived, and the prospect of income from working might well prove the overriding incentive forcing mothers into the labour force.

In the case of Kenya and Zambia, the lack of hard data makes it difficult to test the hypothesis as in Ghana. However, when the 1969 census volumes, including the distribution of the population by type of economic activity are published for Kenya, it will be possible to undertake such an analysis for Kenya, using the 1963 population census results as reference point. This will not be possible for Zambia since the 1960 Population Census was the first to take account of the female labour force.

In the absence of concrete data, there are indications based on the rising cost of living and a trend towards equal wages to suggest that the theory of labour supply discussed above might prove applicable to Kenya and Zambia as well. It could, therefore, lend support to the expectation of increased female labour force activity rates in these countries. Pressures of inflation together with reduction of middle class family income during World War II have been cited as the impetus forcing women to seek employment in the United Arab Republic and the Sudan.[19]

There is therefore evidence supporting the fact that the theory is likely to have applicability in the developing world as well.

II. Education Level of the Population

In a study on employment, some idea of the educational level of the population and the labour force is essential. The latter is particularly important inasmuch as it reflects the calibre of the labour force. By providing insights into the skill composition of the labour force it is indicative of the productivity potential of that labour force.

Unfortunately, the most recent census data providing information on the education level of the labour force is not available at the time of writing. As a result, use will be made of statistics relating to the educational level of the population as a whole to provide some measure of the calibre of manpower available in the three countries. One direct indication of the education composition of the future labour force can be guaged in the trend in all three countries to increasing school enrolment among the compulsory school age group. As the primary school leaver's progression rates to secondary education is not very encouraging in any of these countries, this means that the yearly additions to the labour force from this source ("the school leavers") will result in a growing proportion of the labour force with a minimum primary school education.

In Table IV the proportion of the population who had received no schooling or never been to school and the proportion in the compulsory and/or school age-going are presented. According to the table, the proportion of the population 5 years or more who had never been to school is lowest for Zambia (51.03 per cent), followed by Ghana (56.8 per cent) and Kenya (72.9 per cent). The same holds true for the respective sex components. This pattern with Zambia leading in educational attainment is unexpected from one's knowledge of the oft-reputed lag in education in Zambia at independence in December 1963. What it probably reflects, however, is the impact of the country's massive educational expansion under the First National Development Plan upon independence.

In the compulsory school age-going group, the earlier pattern is reversed. Kenya occupies the foremost position with 64 per cent of the relevant age group in school, followed by Zambia (59.5 per cent) and Ghana (58.1 per cent). The same pattern is repeated for the proportion of boys enrolled in primary school; Kenya (75 per cent), Zambia (66 per cent) and Ghana (62.5 per cent). For girls, all three countries appear to have roughly 53 per cent of the age group in school.

As far as future developments are concerned, Kenya is aiming at a 75 per cent enrolment of the school age group by 1976. [20] The recent (1974) elimination of fees in standards I-IV and the consequent increase in enrolments that should follow will increase the likelihood of attainment of that goal. In Zambia, although the policy aim is universal

primary education as soon as possible, the immediate aim was (in 1972) "to keep the development of grades 1 to 4 in line with the population growth rates. [21]

Table IV: Proportion of Population with "no schooling" and Proportion of School Age Group in School (per cent)

	Zambia (1969)	Kenya (1970)	Ghana (1970)
Population (5+) with no schooling:	51.03	72.9	56.8
Male	41.78	66.4	47.3
Female	59.89	79.5	66.2
School Age Group[a] in schools:	59.5	64.0	58.1
Male	66.0	75.0	62.5
Female	52.9	53.0	53.4

Source: CSO, Census of Population and Housing, 1969 Final Report, vol. I, Lusaka, November 1973 and UNECA, Summaries of Economic Data (Zambia 1972), October 1973, p. 19; Kenya Population Census 1969, vol. III and UNECA, Summaries of Economic Data (Kenya 1972), October 1973, pp. 20-21; Ghana Population Census, vol. III, 1970.
a: Zambia (7-14); (Kenya (6-12); Ghaha (6-14).

III. Characteristics of and Trends in Employment

This subsection deals with 1) wage employment levels in the economy, relating this to the overall employment levels where data permits; [22] 2) unemployment and 3) employment policy. The level of employment is treated from the standpoint of the industrial activity pattern in the respective countries.

A) Wage Employment

Modern sector wage employment in Kenya stood at 644.5 thousands in 1970. [23] This represents 60.6 per cent of total wage employment. Total wage employment in the economy includes employment in the traditional urban and rural sectors—areas which employment statistics do not cover.

Modern sector wage employment, on the other hand, covers all known "formal" establishments in the urban area, the public sector, large scale farms and other large scale enterprises located outside the towns. This is the reference point for the focus of the discussion on female employment in this study. In Zambia, modern sector wage employment stood at 328.3 thousands in 1969 or 43 per cent of the total employment figure recorded by the 1969 census.[24] The comparable figure for Ghana in 1970 was a total 397.9 thousands or 12.7 per cent of total employment according to the 1970 Population Census.

When wage employment is viewed as a proportion of the total labour force, Zambia registers 24.5 per cent (corrected 1969 census figures), Kenya 16.9 per cent (1970) and Ghana, 12.0 per cent (1971). These figures indicate the relative importance of wage employment in the three economies. Wage employment not only accounts for a higher proportion of employment in Zambia than in Ghana but it would appear that a more substantial proportion of the labour force is involved in the modern wage sector than in the other two countries. In Ghana, wage employment is seen to account for a mere 12 per cent of the labour force as well as total employment. This suggests that a substantial and significant proportion of economic activities is not captured by recorded employment statistics. Similarly in Kenya, the proportion of the labour force involved in wage employment is small.

The foregoing suggests that the analysis of employment statistics to be considered below can appropriately be viewed as a sample of the total employment position in the respective countries. Inasmuch as the data, though incomplete, is reliable, it is therefore useful in revealing the characteristics and trends of wage employment. In a sense, the level of wage employment can be taken as a barometer of the possible development of total employment in the economy since the pace of modern sector wage employment growth is indicative of the extent of developments in the economy. Furthermore, the growth of wage employment results in increased expenditures since more workers are in receipt of income. The expenditure of this income not only places demand on the "formal" organised modern sector for goods and services, but also places demand on those goods and services supplied by the "informal" sector. The latter comprises economic activities not captured in enumeration surveys. This is generally the rural and urban traditional sectors as distinct from the "formal" modern sector of the economy. The demand for "informal" sector goods and services stimulates the growth of that sector, thereby raising the level of total production in the economy. This suggests the importance of giving serious consideration to subjecting the "informal" sector to economic

analysis along the lines of the ILO's mission to Kenya.

The percentage distribution of modern sector wage employment by industrial activity pattern is presented in Table V for Ghana, Zambia and Kenya. This information is provided at two different points in time so that the changes in wage employment levels and the distribution of those changes in the economy can be appreciated.

Table V: Wage Employment by Industry and Sector (Percentage Distribution)

Industry	GHANA 1969	GHANA 1971	ZAMBIA 1969	ZAMBIA 1972	KENYA 1968	KENYA 1972
Primary Sector	17.6	17.4	28.2	25.5	31.9	31.7
Agriculture, Forestry Hunting &Fisheries	11.1	11.4	11.2	9.7	31.4	31.3
Mining &Quarrying	6.4	6.0	17.0	15.8	.5	.4
Secondary Sector	32.3	29.3	30.5	31.6	17.8	18.8
Manufacturing	12.6	14.7	10.5	11.1	11.6	13.2
Building & Construction	15.5	11.0	18.9	19.2	5.3	4.9
Electricity & Water	4.2	4.7	1.1	1.3	.9	.7
Tertiary Sector	50.1	53.3	41.2	42.9	50.2	49.4
Commerce	8.8	8.9	10.0	10.1	7.0	6.1
Transport & Communications	9.8	8.0	6.9	7.0	8.4	6.3
Services [1]	31.6	36.9	24.3	25.8	34.8	37.0
Total [2]	100.0 (402,600)	100.0 (401,600)	100.0 (328,290)	100.0 (409,700)	100.0 (606,410)	100.0 (719,777)

Source: Republic of Ghana, Economic Survey 1969; p. 99: Central Bureau of Statistics, Labour Statistics 1970 & 1971 (Accra, Ghana); Republic of Zambia, CSO, Monthly Digest of Statistics, vol. III, No. 1, June 1972, p. 3 & vol. x, No. 6, June 1974, p. 3; Republic of Kenya, CBS, Statistical Abstract 1973, pp. 223-225.

1. Excludes domestic servants; 2. Percentages may not total 100.0 in all cases due to rounding.

Table V shows two overall tendencies. One, is a shift of employment from the primary to the secondary and tertiary sectors. Such a shift reflects the fact that as development proceeds fewer people are needed in agriculture. Nonetheless, in the case of Kenya, agriculture continues to account for a considerable proportion of employment. Indeed, recent employment increases have tended to be concentrated in agriculture there. The relatively high proportion of labour in mining in Zambia reflects, of course, the fact that Zambia is an extractive-based economy. The proportional decline in employment in that sector reflects not only the capital intensity of the industry but also Government's policy to maintain employment in mining at a certain level and concentrate on raising productivity levels.

The second tendency concerns the ability of the services to increase their share of labour absorption in all three countries. This increase is most pronounced in Ghana where the proportion of employment in services increased from 31.6 per cent (1969) to 36.9 per cent (1971). In Kenya, employment in services increased from 34.8 per cent (1968) to 37 per cent (1972), and from 24.3 per cent (1969) to 25.8 per cent (1972) in Zambia. The growth of employment in services indicated by these percentages is largely attributable to the expansion of Government services such as health and education which are growth sectors in economies such as these undergoing rapid development.

As regards the secondary sector, it is interesting that in all three countries, manufacturing's relative share of employment is on the increase. In Ghana and Kenya, increases in the proportion of labour employed in manufacturing accounts for the greater part of the change in the relative share of the secondary sector. The decline of employment in building and construction in Ghana and Kenya and slight improvement in Zambia from 18.9 per cent (1969) to 19.2 per cent (1972) reflect the fluctuations in economic activity to which this industry is subject.

The rather small proportion of employment in commerce (8.9 per cent in 1971) in Ghana comes as a surprise. According to the 1970 census, this activity accounted for the second highest proportion of labour employed in Ghana (13.9 per cent) after agriculture (57.2 per cent).[25] It should be evident then, that in a country like Ghana, famous for its traders, such wage employment in commerce fails to do justice to the place of commerce in economic activities.

Finally, attention should be drawn to the total wage employment figures. In none of the three countries did growth of wage employment increase considerably. Kenya experienced an increase of 18.7 per cent resulting in an annual gain of 3.7 per cent between 1968-1972, Zambia registered a 12 per cent increase or 4 per cent annual increase between 1969-1972 while Ghana actually experienced a decline (-.25 per cent) between 1969-1971, reflecting that country's recent economic difficulties which required a period of retrenchment in employment.[26]

As regards the potential for increased employment among the various economic sectors, a consideration of growth rates of employment by industry is instructive. In Ghana, the fact that manufacturing (11.6 per cent) and services (3.9 per cent) experienced the greatest annual increases in employment between 1966-1971, suggest that these industries offer some potential for increased employment. In Zambia, between 1969-1972, services experienced by far the greatest annual employment increase (18.6 per cent). However, 13.2 per cent of this was accounted for by "finance, insurance, real estate and business services," followed by electricity and water (9.2 per cent) and then manufacturing (5.2 per cent). In Kenya, employment in manufacturing recorded the highest annual increase (6.9 per cent) between 1968-1972, followed by services (5.2 per cent) and agriculture (3.7 per cent). To sum up, manufacturing and services respectively experienced the highest growth in employment in Ghana and Kenya, with agriculture in third place in Kenya. In Zambia, the order was reversed: services, electricity and water and manufacturing. These are the areas, it would appear, offering potential for increased wage employment.

B) Unemployment

The preceding section conclude with an identification of sectors with potential for employment absorption. The crucial question is, however, how much of a potential do these sectors offer? Given the relatively slow increase in labour absorpiton in wage employment identified earlier, is it realistic to expect any significant change in this trend?

In Ghana, Government estimates that while an estimated 144,000 persons are absorbed yearly into the labour force, "it is evident that investment resources can only be made available to provide industrial jobs (wage employment) for a small proportion of these additions, quite apart from reducing the present volume of unemployment."[27] In Kenya, despite the anticipated 4.5 per cent annual increase in modern sector employment during the 1974-1978 Development Plan, there will be great pressures to supply the 400,000-800,000 jobs that must be created to absorb the growing additions to the labour force.

Modern sector wage employment is expected to absorb no more than approximately 200,000 new job holders.[28] As for Zambia, the poor 0.7 per cent growth rate recorded for 1973 [29] increases the likelihood that it will experience difficulties meeting the employment targets of the Second National Development Plan (1972-1976). The plan targets the creation of an average of 20,000 new wage jobs a year. In comparison, a total of 67,000 persons per annum are expected to enter the labour force. Although all 67,000 will not be entering the wage labour market, the enormity of the figure poses a sizeable problem for employment creation. Should the 20,000 wage jobs planned be created, that leaves a total of 46,000 jobs a year that have to found in both rural and urban areas.[30] Experience at mid-term review indicates "that during the first two years of the Plan there has been no appreciable improvement in the employment situation in the country.[31]

The preceding discussion serves to underscore the severity of the unemployment problem faced by Ghana, Zambia and Kenya. The reliability of quantitative measures of unemployment in these countries vary considerably. In Ghana, for example, unemployment, measured as a per cent of the total labour force, has remained at 6 per cent over the period 1960-1970. However, unemployment measured as a per cent of the wage labour force [32] yielded unemployment rates of 19 per cent for the country's male and 60 per cent for the female wage labour force in 1960.[33] In mid-1967, the level of unemployment was estimated at 12 per cent.[34] There are indications that the unemployment figure has worsened since then and is on the order of 25 per cent of the total labour force. According to the 1969 population census, Zambia has about 30 per cent of its labour force unemployed; this consists of unemployment rates of 20 per cent and 57 per cent for males and females respectively.[35] For Kenya, measures of urban unemployment rates are on the order of 15 per cent. For Nairobi alone, in 1970, unemployment rates of 8 per cent for males and 21 per cent for women yielding overall rates of 12 per cent have been found.[36]

C) Employment Policy

Faced with unemployment of the proportions described above, all three countries have been forced to place emphasis upon employment policy. With two-thirds of all unemployed in the 15-24 age group in Ghana, the Government regards an improvement in the present situation among the most important goals of the economy. Government plans to combat the unemployment problem by "creating new employment and new job opportunities through the stimulation of the economy."

For the short term, limited inroads on certain segments of unemployment can be made by speeding up labour intensive activities in road building, construction of houses and buildings and important improvements in the infrastructure.[37]

In Zambia, Government's approach to the unemployment problem focuses on rural development, and places emphasis on the creation of opportunities for self-employment. The objective of rural development is to generate productive employment in order to reduce the disparties between the rural and urban areas. The identification of Intensive Development Zones are the foci of the strategy. In such zones, a package of Government provided inputs and production aids and communal facilities and amenities are to be provided to peasant farmers and others involved in non-agricultural activities.

Kenya's employment strategy also emphasises a shift of the locale of growth to the rural areas. Special Rural Development sites are also identified as the foci for rural development. This will involve an increased proportion of investments in the rural areas, especially in rural infrastructure and amenities.

Footnotes: Chapter II

1. ILO, "The Economically Active Population of Africa in 1960 and its Possible Evolution to 1980," Presented at African Population Conference, Accra, Ghana, December, 1971. ECA:E/CN.14/Pop.42.

2. Ibid., Table I, p. 20

3. These adjustments are by the Planning Committee on Population, Labour Force, Employment and Migration Planning, (mimeographed, Lusaka, Zambia, Ministry of Development Finance and National Guidance, September 1971).

4. ILO, Employment, Incomes and Equality p.4. Also, UNECA, The Data Base for Discussion on the Interrelations Between the Integration Of Women in Development, Their Situation and Population Factors in Africa, E/CN/SW/34. (May, 1974).

5. Census Office, 1970 Population Census of Ghana, (Accra; June, 1972), See also Part II (of present study), Statistical Commentaries: Ghana.

6. ILO, Labour Force Projections, 1965-1985, Part V, II, VI. (Geneva: ILO, 1973).

7. Ibid., Part VI, Methodological supplement.

8. ILO, "The Economically Active Population of Africa," pp. 16-17.

9. Planning Committee on Population, p.107.

10. See Tom K. Kumekpor, "Mothers and Wage Labour Employment," in The Home Scientist, II, 4 (Ghana, 1973).

11. See W. Galenson, "Economic Development and Sectoral Expansion of Employment," in ILR, LXXXVII, 6 (June, 1963), p. 505-518.

12. See E. Boserup, Women's Role.

13. ILO, Labour Force Projections, Part V: World Summary, op. cit., pp. 82 and 93.

14. Nadia Haggag Youssef, Women and Work in Developing Societies, Institute of International Studies, (Berkeley: University of California 1974), pp. 9-11.

15. Jacob Mincer, "Labour Force Participation of Married Women," in Aspects of Labour Economics, a conference of the Universities--National Bureau Committee on Economic Research, (Princeton University Press, 1962); Jacob Mincer, "Economic Factors in Labour Force Participation Rates," in International Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences, VIII (Labour Economics).

16. J.Mincer, "Economic Factors in Labour, "IESS", p. 475.

17. See K.I. deGraft Johnson, "The Determinants of Labour Force Participation Rates in Ghana," (forthcoming), (Legon: Institute of Statistics, Social and Economic Research, University of Ghana). A similar analysis as that presented here was first applied to Ghana in this document.

18. Kumekpor, "Mothers," Home Scientist, p. 23.

19. UNECA, "The Employment and Socio-Economic Situation of Women in Some North African Countries," E/CN.14/URB/12, (July 15, 1963), p.9.

20. Ministry of Finance and Economic Planning, Development Plan 1974-1978, Part I. (Nairobi, Kenya: 1974).

21. UNECA, Summaries of Economic Data (Zambia, 1972) compiled October, 1973; fifth year, No. 11 m73-2501.

22. At this writing, figures on overall employment from the Kenyan population census were not available.

23. Ministry of Finance and Economic Planning, Kenya Economic Survey, 1972, p. 132.

24. These figures and those remaining in this discussion are derived from various official sources in the respective countries to which reference has already been made. These include: 1970 Population Census (Ghana); 1969 Population Census (Zambia); Planning Committee on Manpower....., (Zambia), op cit; C.S.O., "Employment" presented at Seminar on Zambia as a Market Organized by Management & Development, Training and Advisory Centre, May 22, 1974 (Zambia).

25. 1970 Ghana Population Census.

26. Reference to the fact that official statistics showed that various employers laid off their employees in response to the slump in the economy at that time is found in N.O. Addo, "Urbanization Population and Employment in Ghana", Seminar on Population Growth and Economic Development, in Africa, (Nairobi 1969), p. 250.

27. Republic of Ghaha, Two-Year Development Plan — A Plan for the period Mid-1968 to Mid-1970 (Accra: July, 1968), p.80.

28. See Ministry of Finance and Economic Planning, Development Plan 1974-1978, Part I, Nairobi, Kenya.

29. Hon. A.B. Chikwanda (M.P.Minister of Planning and Finance), Population, Economic Growth and Employment in Zambia, Opening Address, National Conference on Population and Development (report) December, 1974, Extra-Mural Studies Department, University of Zambia, p. 15.

30. It should be pointed out that though school leavers constitute a considerable proportion of this total, they do not in any way constitute the entire problem.

31. Republic of Zambia, Ministry of Finance/Development, Planning Division, Annual Review: Performance of the Zambian Economy 1973, (Lusaka January, 1974), p. 26.

32. The total labour force is defined as the total number employed plus unemployed. The wage labour force is defined as the total number of employees plus the total number unemployed. (See W. Birmingham, I. Newstadt & E.N. Omaboe, Study of Contemporary Ghana, Vol. I, (George Allen University, 1967), pp. 148-149). The point here is that when unemployment is recorded relative to the wage labour force, the figure is considerably higher than that relative to the total labour force.

33. Ibid, pp. 148-149.

34. K.A.Busia, Broadcast speech by the P.M. Ghana on 4 November 1969.

35. CSO, 1969 Population Census (Zambia), op. cit., p.6.

36. E.whitelaw, Survey of Nairobi Households, 1971. See ILO, Employment, Incomes and Equality, p. 56.

37. Republic of Ghana, First Annual Report of the Ghana Manpower Board, 1968, p.6.

Chapter III

WOMEN IN MODERN SECTOR WAGE EMPLOYMENT

This chapter examines the extent of women's participation in the modern wage sector. It analyses the present situation of women in wage employment by industry and occupation, both quantitatively and qualitatively, as well as the growth of female employment. Future trends in women's employment are also indentified.

The analysis in this chapter is largely confined to Ghana and Kenya because of data availability. In the case of Zambia, available statistical sources do not disaggregate wage employment figures by sex. In the absence of direct information on female wage employment, therefore, it has been possible to provide only some indication of the approximate size of female employment in Zambia, by using census results on the "employee-status" working population. In contrast, the data base for Ghana (Labour Statistics) and Kenya (Employment and Earnings in the Modern Sector) is from annual establishment surveys that provide information on wage earners and employees by industrial sector.

I. Quantitative Dimension of Women's Employment

The share of women in modern sector employment in Ghana, Kenya and Zambia is shown in Table VI. This is provided for at least two different points in time in each case so that the evolution of female participation in wage employment can be better appreciated. As effort is made to relate the position of women in wage employment to Chapter II by use of certain statistics from that chapter to highlight women's relative position.

Table VI: Women in Wage Employment

Country	Year	Wage Employment: Number ('000s)	Wage Employment: % of Labour Force	Women in Wage Employment: Number ('000s)	Women in Wage Employment: % of Wage Earners	Women in Wage Employment: % of All Women Employed	Women in Wage Employment: % of All Women in Labour Force
Ghana	1960	332.9	12.2	16.6	4.9	2.9	1.6
	1965	395.8		34.9	8.8		
	1971	401.6	12.0	39.9	9.9	4.4	2.7
Kenya	1964	573.1		80.2	14.0	-	-
	1972	719.8	16.9[a]	106.5	14.8	-	8.7[a]
Zambia	1966			6.0	2.0[e]	-	-
	1969[b]	372.5	27.8[c]	25.0	6.7	10.8[d]	5.7

Source: Economic Survey, 1969 (Ghana), p. 97; Labour Statistics (respective years); ECA, Summaries of Economic Data, No. 1972 (Ghana). Employment and Earnings in the Modern Sector 1963-1967; 1971 (Kenya); Economic Survey 1974 (Kenya). 1969 Population Census (Zambia); Cabinet Office, Manpower Report, Lusaka (1969).

a: 1970; b: 1969 Population base; c: In contrast to earlier 24.5 per cent of wage employment according to establishment survey which in 1969 was 88 per cent of census figure for wage employment.

d: assumes total of 231.3 thousands women employed including 90,000 that census failed to classify appropriately.

e: estimate.

Focussing upon the proportion of women in wage employment in Table VI it is noteworthy that in Ghana, although the proportion increased substantially from 4.9 per cent in 1960 to 8.8 per cent in 1965, between 1965 and 1971 women's share of wage employment improved by a mere 1.1 percentage point. The increase during the earlier period can probably be explained by the stimulus given to female employment through the establishment of the Worker's Brigade under the Nkrumah period. The Worker's Brigade, a political organisation, was conceived as a solution to the unemployment problem facing Ghana in the 1960's. A high proportion, on the order of 60 per cent, of those recruited in the urban areas were women. The activities engaged in were mainly manufacturing, agriculture and trading. Since the majority of recruits were women, the increased share of women in wage employment between 1960-1965 should be appraised against this background. The slower pace of female participation in wage employment in the 1965-1971 period coincided with the disbandment of the Worker's Brigade in 1966.

In the case of Zambia, the table reveals a striking improvement in women's relative share of wage employment from a mere 2 per cent (1966) to 6.7 per cent (1969). It should be pointed out that the two sources from which these percentages are derived are not strictly comparable, which may tend to exaggerate the extent of improvement in women's relative position. However, it remains true that a significant penetration of wage employment by women did occur during this period. That most female wage earners entered economic activity during the period 1964-1969 can be substantiated by reference to educational statistics for the period. Between 1964 - 1969 there was a 281 per cent increase in the number of girls who entered secondary schools. Given that there tends to be a high drop-out rate among girls, it is fair to assume that proportionally more girls than boys enter economic life with a partial secondary school education. Moreover, the high demand for educated manpower, even of the Form III level, during 1964 - 1969 period, meant that female employment would naturally experience a substantial increase.[1] Thus, it is not unreasonable that a percentage change on the order of four percentage points occured in female employment thereby making the proportion of female wage earners about 6.7 per cent in 1969.

In Kenya, on the other hand, the share of women in wage employment appears to have changed very little over the eight-year period. From 14.0 per cent in 1964, the proportion of women wage earners had reached a mere 14.8 per cent by 1972.

As a subsequent table will show, this change reflects a mere redistribution of women workers among industrial activity. Finally, the relatively higher proportion of women wage earners in Kenya compared to Ghana and Zambia reflects the position of commercial agriculture in the Kenyan economy and the special employment opportunities it offers for women. This is similar to the case of Ceylon and Malaysia where the plantations provided special employment opportunities for women during the late fifties.[2]

Wage employment as a per cent of all women employed is higher in Zambia than Ghana where the proportion increased from 2.9 per cent (1960) to 4.4 per cent (1971). The small per cent point increase over an eleven-year period in Ghana underscores the fact that women's employment in that country remains largely concentrated outside the wage sector and that inroads into the wage economy are minimal — a mere 1.5 per cent. Wage employment as a per cent of all women in the labour force is highest in Kenya, (8.7 per cent), followed by Zambia (5.7 per cent) and lastly Ghana (2.7 per cent). The higher proportion in Kenya probably reflects the opportunities offered by commercial agriculture mentioned above. The lower proportion in Ghana further supports the earlier point. The fact that in 1960 more than 70 per cent of all own account traders were women holds the key to this situation.

Lastly, it is noteworthy that no consistent pattern emerges as regards the relation of size of modern sector employment and the proportion of women wage earners. It had been postulated that where the size of the modern sector in relation to the total labour force was largest, the proportion of women employed would also be largest. But the table does not bear this out. In Zambia, with wage employment almost 29 per cent of the labour force, the proportion of women was about 7 per cent in 1969, while Kenya, with wage employment about 17 per cent of its labour force, registered the highest proportion of women wage earners (14.8 per cent). This suggests that the size of the modern sector may not be as important a conditioning factor for female employment as much as the opportunities for female employment offered by the modern sector (commercial agriculture in Kenya) or created in that sector ("Worker's Brigade" in Ghana).

Table VII shows the share of women in the various branches of industry in Ghana and Kenya over time. Only five industrial sectors are presented since these together currently account for 93 per cent of women wage earners in Ghana and 99 per cent in Kenya. In 1960 these same sectors accounted for 87 per cent of all women wage earners in Ghana, the difference being attributable to declines in female employment in electricity, etc. and construction between 1960 and 1971.

Table VII: Percentage of Women in Wage Employment by Economic Sector Agriculture

Country	Year	All[a] Industries	Forestry Fishing Hunting	Mfg.	Commerce	Transport and Communications	Services
Ghana	1960	4.9	4.2	5.0	5.1	3.2	9.2
	1965	8.8	15.3	6.7	8.6	3.9	13.2
	1971	9.9	10.0	8.6	10.3	5.3	15.7
Kenya	1964	14.0	18.	7.	10.	5.	16.
	1967	13.3	18.	6.	10.	5.	16.
	1971	14.6	17.2	6.4	10.4	5.8	19.7

Source: Labour Statistics (Ghana), op. cit.
Employment and Earnings in the Modern Sector, 1971 (Kenya), op. cit; also, ILO, Employment Incomes and Equality, A Strategy for Increasing Productive Employment in Kenya, ILO, Geneva, 1972, p. 297.

a: Includes sectors in which the proportion of women employed is very small.

The most striking aspect of Table VII is the almost constant share of women in all branches of industry, with the exception of agriculture and services in Kenya. In agriculture, the proportion of women declined between 1964 and 1971 while the proportion in services increased from 16 per cent (1964) to almost 20 per cent (1971). In manufacturing, there was actually a decline in the proportion of women workers. The decline in agriculture can be expaained by the displacement of women workers in services reflects the results of greater access of women to educational opportunities over the seven-year period. The fact that in 1971 about 62 per cent of all females employed in services was in education and health indicates the role education has played in opening up employment opportunities to women. The decline in manufacturing is surprising since one would expect to find women employment on the increase here. The experience of the tobacco factories might hold a clue. These factories experienced a recent swing away from employment of female labour upon the enaction of the equal pay provision.3

In Ghana, with the exception of agriculture, there was a consistent increase in the proportion of women in wage employment in each branch of industry. There was first an increase between 1960-1965 and then a decline over the 1965-1971 period in female employment in agriculture. This displacement of (women) workers in agriculture is expected to continue as development progresses.

Services experienced the greatest percentage point gain between 1965-1971 (2.5) followed by manufacturing (1.9), commerce (1.7) and lastly transport and communications (1.4). Over the period 1960-1971, however, comparison of percentage points change results in services leading (6.5) followed by commer (5.2) and thirdly manufacturing (3.6).

In Table VIII, the distribution of women workers by economic sector is presented. The most striking aspect of the table is the decline in the proportion of all women workers in agriculture in both Ghana (from 25.0 to 11.5 per cent) and Kenya (43.6 to 36.1 per cent) over the relevant periods and the increased concentration in services. In both countries, service and manufacturing appears to have absorbed the declines in agriculture. In Ghana, the proportion of all women workers in manufacturing almost doubled. This is startling considering that women increased their penetration of manufacturing by less than 2 per cent during this period (Table VII). In Kenya, on the other hand, there was a one percentage point gain in the proportion of all women workers in manufacturing, along with a one per cent decline in the share of women in that sector.

Table VIII: Distribution of Women Workers by Economic Sector (Per cent)

Country	Year	Agriculture Fishing, Forestry	Manufacturing	Commerce	Transport and Communication	Services
Ghana	1965	25.0	6.4	8.5	3.5	49.7
	1971	11.5	12.3	9.3	4.3	57.6
Kenya	1967	43.6	4.9	5.9	3.0	41.9
	1971	36.1	5.9	4.8	2.6	49.3

Source: (same as Table VII)

In general, it would appear that the decline in the concentration of women in agriculture has led to a much more significant change in the composition of the female work force in Ghana than Kenya. Thus, in 1971, services, manufacturing and commerce accounted for a little less than 80 per cent of all women workers in Ghana, in contrast to 60 per cent in Kenya.

Lastly, the fact that in Ghana women constituted a mere 9 per cent of all female recorded employment in commerce in 1971 deserves special comment. The 1960 population census revealed that commerce accounted for about 28 per cent of all females employed. The disparity between these two percentages indicate the fact that official statistics fail to incorporate a significant portion of women actually involved in commerce. Although the majority of these are what is commonly termed "petty traders," the fact that some of these famous "market women" of Ghana have satisfactorily established themselves in trade all along the West African coast suggests a certain acumen that could be harnessed for penetration of modern commercial activities.

In the introduction, it will be recalled that one reason favoring the choice of Ghana for study was precisely the high level of economic activity among women in the traditional non-agriculture sector. Some positive relationship was anticipated between woman's employment in modern commerce and their involvement in traditional commercial activities.

However, this has not proved the case. The clue appears to lie in the fact that "the participation of women in modern trade is held down by their low level of literacy".[4]

The proportion of women in the major occupation categories provides yet another perspective on women's position in the modern sector. Table IX summarizes the available information on three such categories. The differences between the two countries are small, with women in Ghana holding relatively higher proportions of the professional technical and related workers (22.9 per cent as opposed to 19.5 per cent in Kenya) and clerical category (19.4 per cent compared to 17.9 per cent in Kenya) and a lower proportion in the administrative and managerial area (4.9 per cent compared with 6.7 per cent in Kenya).

Table IX: Percentage of Women in Major Occupation Categories (1971)

	Professional, technical related	Administrative & Managerial	Clerical and related
Ghana	22.9	4.9	19.4
Kenya	19.5	6.7	17.9

Source: Labour Statistics (Ghana), loc cit., Employment and Earnings in the Modern Sector (Kenya) loc. cit

II. Qualitative Aspects of Women's Employment

As regards the qualitative aspects of women's employment, a brief comment on current trends in the distribution of women according to levels of skill and responsibility in the modern sector is appropriate.

In the public sector women can be found at relatively high levels in the civil service. Though few in number at present, as the output of university-trained women increases one can expect to find an increase in the share of women in this.

However, by far the majority of women workers are concentrated in the junior grades of the civil service in both countries.

In the private sector, in Kenya the greater proportion of women are employed either as secretaries or unskilled labourers in industry. of regular employees in 1971 in Kenya, women comprised about 10 per cent of unskilled workers but only 4 per cent of skilled and semi-skilled workers. At present, there is nothing to suggest that women will be better represented among the skilled and semi-skilled category in Kenya in the near future. In Ghana, sizeable numbers of women feature among the craftsmen and skilled and semi-skilled workers category. The specific areas include tailors and related workers, compositors, pressmen and engravers et cetera. In the garment industry for example, it is estimated that about 30 per cent of the labour force is female, covering all grades of unskilled, semi-skilled and skilled.

In summing up this subsection, the following ILO observation is highly relevant: "women workers continue to be concentrated in a relatively small range of occupations and to be confined to a relatively low level of skill". 5

III. Trends in Women's Employment

Having analysed past developments in women's employment in the modern sector, what can be said about future trends? Can one expect increasing penetration in certain economic sectors such as service, commerce and manufacturing and, if so, upon what might such expectation be based? A comparison of industry employment growth rates and female employment growth rates in each industry represents an attempt to answer these questions. This is done in Table X.

Table X: Industry Employment Growth and Growth of Female Employment by Industry (Per Cent)

(Estimated Annual Compound Growth Rates)

	Kenya: 1967 - 1971		Ghana: 1965 - 1971	
	Industry Employment Growth	Female Employment Growth	Industry Employment Growth	Female Employment Growth
All Industries	3.6	5.9	0.2	2.6
Agriculture etc.	2.1	1.1	-3.4	-9.8
Manufacturing	8.8	10.9	9.7	14.3
Commerce	-.5	0.6	0.9	4.1
Transport & Communications	1.8	1.7	0.9	6.0
Services	4.7	10.4	2.1	5.1

A comparison of industry employment growth rates and female employment growth rates reveals that in both Kenya and Ghana female employment experienced relatively higher annual compound rates of growth than overall employment. In Kenya, female employment growth was 5.9 per cent compared with a 3.6 per cent industry employment growth. The comparable rates for Ghana were 2.6 per cent and 0.2 per cent respectively. The rather low rates of growth in Ghana in general reflect the difficult years the economy was undergoing during the relevant period.

Analysis of the pattern of growth by industry shows that in both Kenya and Ghana, female employment growth in the services was more than twice as fast as overall employment growth in the services. It will be recalled from Table VII that it was in the services that female penetration of wage employment registered the sharpest gain in both countries. In manufacturing, although female employment growth was higher (10.9 per cent) than industry's (8.8 per cent) in Kenya, it will be recalled that female employment in manufacturing actually experienced a decline relatively. In Ghana, on the other hand, not only was female employment growth considerably higher (14.3 per cent) than the overall employment growth (9.7 per cent) in manufacturing, but it resulted in an increased share of that sector's employment (form 6.7 per cent to 8.6 per cent). In commerce and transport and communications Ghana's higher female employment growth (4.1 per cent and 6.0 per cent respectively) than industry's (0.9 per cent in both cases) likewise resulted in increased penetration by women of the relevant sector's employment.

Despite these relatively higher rates of growth of female employment, the share of women in total modern sector employment changed very little, as evident in Table VI, between 1965-1971 in Ghana and 1964-1972 in Kenya. The higher female growth rate is partially explained by the comparatively lower base from which female employment grew. But to ascertain the other variables involved requires further investigation. It does indicate, however, that if women are to make any significant inroads in employment, their growth of employment has to be proportionately greater than the growth of total employment in the industry. In the case of services, a growth rate more than twice the industry's growth led to a substantial penetration by women workers. But, in other cases where female employment growth rate was more than two-fold (commerce in Ghana, for example), a similar result did not occur. It would appear then that there are certain constraints operating that intervene, thereby determining the extent of inroads that can be made in any particular economic sector by women workers. In the modern commerce sector one writer, for example, has underscored the role played by the preference of modern sector employers for male workers.[6] But other factors are obviously involved. Some of these are treated in the next chapter.

In terms of the implications of past growth trends for future developments in female employment, it seems reasonable that women will continue to make inroads in the services, thereby increasing their share of employment in that sector. The increasing access of girls to educational facilities will play a key role here. As regards manufacturing, this could be an area for further female penetration but there is little reason to be optimistic in the case of Kenya. In Ghana, the almost doubling of the proportion of women workers accounted for by manufacturing between 1965-1971 is more encouraging. However, it is not possible to say the extent to which it is indicative of future trends without an understanding of the dynamics involved in that development. Lastly, the future will see a continuing decline in the share of women in agriculture.

Occupationally, women are expected to increase their penetration of the clerical and related category considerably in both countries. Recent improvements in the conditions of service for the "Secretarial class" in Ghana will make this occupation relatively more attractive to women.[7] In Kenya, Government's encouragement of women in this field, will further speed up this trend. Women's share of professional, techinical and related occupations will also increase though at a relatively slower pace because of the longer lead time that training for these occupations require.

Footnotes: Chapter III

1. United Nations Food and Agricultural Organization. The Food Economy of Zambia. ESN: OP/ZAM/69/512. Technical Report I, p. 3 (Rome, 1974).

2. See K.C. Doctor & H. Gallis, "Modern Sector Employment in Asian Countries: Some Empirical Estimates" in ILR, (December, 1964), XC, 6.

3. Personal communication, Kenya Employers' Federation, Nairobi, 1974.

4. See E. Bpserup, op. cit., p. 99

5. ILO, Women Workers in a Changing World, Report VI (i) p. 14.

6. E. Boserup, op. cit., p. 99.

7. See Republic of Ghana, Report of the Salary Review Committee, Accra, July 1974.

Chapter IV

CONSTRAINTS ON THE EMPLOYMENT OF WOMEN

The focus of this chapter is the examination of the major factors or obstacles that limit the realization of wage employment possibilities for women. Inasmuch as these are factors responsible for the level and pattern of female participation in the modern sector, they are at the same time constraints on the broadening and expansion of employment opportunities for women.

Emphasis is placed on those factors controlling the supply of female labour and operating independently of the demand for that labour. This involves variables directly related to or determining women's employability. Thus, while recognizing the crucial role the general level of economic activity plays in determining the strength of the demand for labour in an economy, this particular dimension of the problem is not treated here. It is more pertinent to the subject of the next chapter where it is treated. Although in the long run the key to the future utilization of women in the labour force will ultimately lie in the growth and development of the economy, the opportunities that they will face in the future, and the extent to which they can benefit from such opportunities will be much influenced by the constraints examined in this chapter.[1]

The issues discussed here are closely related to the following chapter on the prospects for female employment. A certain interrelationship between the constraints and prospects probably exists to the extent that as the importance of constraints are reduced, the prospects will be brighter.

Six constraints are considered. These are 1) women's maternal and maternity status; 2) attitudes and socio-cultural orientations; 3) education and training deficiencies; 4) legislation; 5) lack of active female participation in trade unions, and 6) insufficient recognition of women's family responsibilities in Africa. The first four of these are major constraints while the last two are constraints which have received little attention hitherto but which have significant implications. Each constraint is discussed in turn, indicating how they militate against the employment of women.

I.4 Women's Maternal and Maternity Status

Throughout the world, women's biological make-up conferring upon them the status of child bearer operates as a crucial factor affecting their employment. In all three countries studied, as in Africa generally, the high value placed upon children in the culture has far-reaching implications for married women's participation in wage employment. Frequent pregnancies is the most common complaint against women workers in Ghana, Zambia and Kenya. This, coupled with the demands of child-bearing results in frequent absences, withdrawal from the labour force, and the oft-repeated characteristic of a broken pattern of women's working life.

As a result, employers tend to be wary of employing women. Common complaints that follow are that women are not as productive as men; that employment of women increases the cost of production. The more recent demand that employers provide "creches" and other such facilities for working mothers implies even greater costs to the employer.

Thus, the problem of frequent child birth limits women's wage employment opportunities directly. It also affects their chances indirectly since the prospect of temporary withdrawal from the work force makes employers reluctant to employ them. Moreover, employers hesitate to invest in training (particularly costly vocational training) since women's return to the labour force cannot be assured. There is a risky investment return element involved.

It is interesting to note nonetheless that in all three countries, a preference was expressed for employment of married women since they were considered more stable and serious than the young unmarrieds. In Kenya, for example, the most recent training course (September 1974) for trainers of clerical cadres in the Government Ministries, have shown a preference for married women applicants.[2] Of course, this does not mean that the problem of "transfer" to new job sites that arises with married women is any less real. It does indicate, however, that there are certain considerations operating in favour of married women that, if something could be done about the frequent maternity issue discussed earlier, could result in some positive pay-offs.

II. Attitudes and Socio-Cultural Orientations

Customary and religious barriers are oftentimes cited as important variables shaping attitudes to women's participation in wage employment.

By and large, in none of the three countries studied are cultural resistances to female participation in wage employment a major problem. This is not to say that instances of negative attitudes among men to their women working do not exist. But even here, there is recent evidence to suggest that such attitudes are no longer as common as one would believe. A study of low-income families in Dar-es-Salam found that of 163 husbands, fully 75 per cent of them had positive general attitudes to their wives taking wage jobs.[3]

In Ghana the tradition of women working to support themselves and their families is strong.[4] With minor exeeptions, it is safe to say that the cultural set-up provides an environment conducive to working woman. In Kenya and Zambia, the participation of women in wage employment is relatively new. The breakdown of traditional inheritance protection and the desire for security are together among the forces encouraging more women to aspire to wage employment status in these countries.[5]

With the foregoing perspective, what can be said about how the persistence of certain attitudes militate against women in employment? Such attitudes encompass men's and women's attitudes as well as employers' attitudes. Generally, there appears to be a limited range of occupational options that both men and women perceive as suitable for women. The notion, for example, that it is a "waste" to invest in a girl's education because she will eventually marry and not seek employment still persists, by and large, despite a decided change in present day realities wherein women are more and more entering the labour market. It is, for example, such notions that have helped to shape the nature of vocational training that women tend to receive and the nature of vocational guidance they receive at schools. It is instructive in this regard that in Ghana, among students receiving training in electronics at the Accra Technical Training Centre in 1974, was a female student whose initial choice of professions was in the "catering" field.

The notion that "women's place is in the home" illustrates yet another dimension of the attitudes constraint. While such a situation was never true in Africa before the Colonial period,[6] such a precept has today come to be associated with the situation in "traditional" Africa where it is more appropriate to "recent" traditional society (traditional society since colonialism).

The above notion constitutes one of a group of constraints that can be labeled "contemporary influences." These are foreign cultural values, attitudes, norms and characteristics alien to the African tradition that are embodied in the imported science and technologies which develop the modern sector.

They tend to determine the division of the labour market into male and female fields, as well as the employment that exists. This is best illustrated by the emphasis on training men for agriculture extension work. Such emphasis assumes that men are the farmers, in contrast to the traditional division of labour that exist in most African societies.[7] Another case in point is the tendency not to find women receiving training in fundamentals of modern small business management. Given the achievements of women in trade, for example, in Ghana, exposure to a certain amount of training in these lines could have significant ramifications. The net result of such "contemporary influences" is that in ignoring the traditional cultural perspectives, they fail to capitalize on what women do, and can do more effectively, given the necessary training. In short, they have tended to become additional obstacles to women's employability.

Lastly, a word on employers attitudes is called for. Among the three countries, field interviews with private industry representatives[8] revealed the most favourable attitudes to women's employment in Ghana and the least favourable in Kenya. In the latter case, the articulation of the position that there was little future for women's employment except in nursing and the secretarial area serves to underscore the limited range of occupational possibilities conceived of as available to women. It was apparent that the increased cost of female labour (from the employer's perspective) upon enaction of the equal pay legislation in Kenya, accentuated further industry's negative attitudes to employment of women. In this connection, it is encouraging that such attitudes are contrary to those of parastatals such as the Kenya Industrial Estates (Nairobi) and KENATCO, the partly government-owned taxi company in Kenya.

III. Education and Training Deficiencies

The implication of the preceding discussion on the impact of attitudes on wmmen's employment and employability is nowhere better illustrated than by the deficiencies in women's education and training opportunities in Africa. Attitudes that girls' education was not as important as that of boy's greatly influenced the access of girls to education and vocational training facilities and largely accounts for the general lag in women's educational attainment in Ghana, Kenya and Zambia.

A certain amount of basic education is generally a prerequisite for almost any modern sector employment above the unskilled level. Even at such very low unskilled levels, where literacy has not been a prerequisite for certain types of factory work in the past, this situation is expected to change with the increased output from the school system. Thus, the lag in women's education generally places them at relatively greater disadvantages. This is increasingly so today under conditions of rising educational requirements for modern sector employment.

With changing circumstances resulting in greater likelihood of women seeking paid employment today, past deficiencies, despite tremendous strides in certain areas in recent years, operate as major constraints on women's employability. These deficiencies are discussed under three subject areas: formal academic education, vocational and technical training and non-formal education— the extent of women's participation in industrial training programs and other apprenticeship training opportunities. The availability of the facilities for education and training is a necessary, albeit not sufficient, condition for women's equality of access to employment (which exists legally in all three countries) to become a reality.

A) Formal Academic Education

What is the position of girls' education in Ghana, Kenya and Zambia? In general, illiteracy is highest amongst women in Africa, as evidenced by their heavy participation in literacy classes. In all three countries, women form the majority of students in such classes, while in Zambia the experience of functional literacy programs where women comprise 72 per cent of enrolments attests to the kinds of results one can expect when women are given the opportunity to benefit from educational programs.[9]

In Table XI sex proportions in primary and secondary schools are presented for two periods. The table shows basic education level. Between the mid-sixties and early seventies, although there were gains in the proportions of females enrolled in all three countries, in no case does the proportion of female students reach 50 per cent. Over the period, percentage points gain at the primary level were greatest in Kenya, followed by Zambia and lastly Ghana. Thus in 1973, the proportions of females in total primary school enrolment were 43.9 per cent (Ghana), 43.6 per cent (Kenya) and 45.1 per cent (Zambia).

The relatively higher proportion in Zambia reflects the tremendous educational investment undertaken by that country at independence to redress its educational deficiencies. All three countries compare rather favourably with the continent's average of 38 per cent for the proportion of girls among primary school students in 1969.[10]

At the secondary level, the proportion of female enrolment reached approximately a third in all three countries by 1973 except in Ghana. In Kenya and Zambia, percentage points gains were on the order of five and six compared with Ghana's a little under two. Again, Zambia has the highest proportion, (34.2 per cent), followed now by Kenya (32.9 per cent) and Ghana (26.6 per cent). The situation in Zambia once again reflects educational investment mentioned above. In addition, it also reflects the provision of equal facilities for boys and girls that occured during the secondary school expansion in 1965. This placed girls at a relative advantage as evident by the increase in the proportion of Form I enrolment accounted for by them from 30 per cent in 1964 to 37 per cent by 1973. The relatively lower proportion of girls in secondary schools in Ghana compared with the other two countries and the fact that in 1960 the proportion at that educational level was a little less than 25 per cent indicates that there has been very little improvement in girls' position over the past ten years. Among the factors involved here are probably school facilities. There appears to be considerable disparity in the number of places available to girls for secondary schooling compared to boys. Where, for example, there are fewer spaces for girls competition at the "common entrance" examinations for these spaces will be keener than otherwise. As a result, examination scores for girls compared to those for boys would be artificially raised. Thus, the sheer process of selection could well "weed out" a considerable number of would-be female students.

The continent's average at the secondary level appears to be on the order of 29 per cent (1969) which means that Kenya and Zambia measure up impressively in comparison. The sharp discrepancy between the proportions of girls at the primary and secondary levels in all three countries calls for comment. It reflects the relatively higher drop-out rates (wastage) among girls than boys at all levels, and particularly at the secondary level. Wastage of girls from the educational system is due to a variety of factors among which are the need for their help at home, especially so in the rural areas, pregnancy, early marriages, or when family finances are tight, continuation of the boy's education is simply favoured. [11]

Table XI: Sex Ratios in Primary and Secondary Schools (Per cent)

	1965 - 6		1972 - 3	
Primary Schools	Male	Female	Male	Female
Ghana	56.2	43.8	56.1	43.9
Kenya	61.9	38.1[a]	56.4	43.6[c]
Zambia	56.9	43.1[b]	54.9	45.1[c]
Secondary Schools				
Ghana	74.2	25.8	73.4	26.6
Kenya	74.1	25.9	56.4	32.9
Zambia	70.5	29.5	65.8	34.2

Source: Ministry of Education, Annual Reports for relevant years. a: 1966; b: 1964; c: 1973.

At university level education, the continent's average for the proportion of females enrolled increased from 19 per cent in 1965 to 23 per cent in 1969. In Kenya in the 1966- 67 period, women accounted for 17 per cent of university enrolment. In Zambia and Ghana the relevant proportions were 16 and 13 per cent respectively. Recent developments in Ghana at the University of Science and Technology where women accounted for about 12 per cent of enrolment in 1972-3 is worthy of note. The percentage distribution of female students in 1965 at that institution was fine arts (37.9), science (36) agriculture (1.7) and pharmacy (10). By 1970, the proportions were 20 per cent, 20 per cent, 20 per cent, 24.5 per cent and 20 per cent, respectively. The extent of participation of women in agricultural training at this level is most striking while the increase in the proportion of women students receiving training in pharmacy is considerable.. Recently both Zambia and Kenya have had only one or two women receiving agricultural training at their universities.

B) Technical and Vocational Training

How do women fare as regards their participation in formal vocational and technical training in these countries? Training here is defined in terms of training intended "to equip an individual with skills for economic return either in the wage sector of the economy or through own-account

or family production and services." [12] Statistics on female participation in vocational education and training tend to be generally deceiving since such training is mostly confined to sewing and cookery and other home sciences which rarely leads to gainful employment, although this tends to be the latent "hope" of such programs. In Ghana, for example, the participation of girls in such programs is highly impressive. However, since such vocational training does not satisfy the interests here (from the standpoint of modern sector wage employment) the focus of the discussion is on technical education and training. Table XII summarizes the position of women in such training in Ghana, Kenya and Zambia. Technical training in agriculture is discussed separately.

Table XII: Female Participation in Technical Education and Training

(Per cent)

	Teacher Training Institutions	Technical Training Institutions
Ghana		
1965/6	30.0	9.5
1972/3	33.6	15.5
Kenya		
1972	33.6[a]	8.5[b]
1973	-	10.0
Zambia		
1972	-	35.0[d]
1974	33.0[c]	36.5

Sources: Ghana Education Statistics, 1970-71; Digest of Educational Statistics, 1972-73 (Ghana). Kenya Polytechnic, Administrative Department, Enrolments: Sept. - Dec. 1971 (Circ. -R8/71); Sept. - Dec. 1973 (A-11/3/4/17); Ministry of Education, Annual Reports, 1969 and 1972 (Kenya). DTEVT (Zambia) Annual Reports 1972 and 1974 Enrolments; Ministry of Education, 1973 enrolments.

a: average of primary and secondary teacher training courses.

b: Kenya Polytechnic only: Sept. - Dec. 1971 and 1973.

c: Excludes domestic science; d: Evelyn Hone College enrolments only.

In the area of teacher training, women constitute about a third of enrolment in all three countries. If domestic science enrolment statistics were included for Zambia, female's proportion would increase to about 41 per cent.

In technical training the table shows sharp variation among the three countries. Several factors are at play. Foremost is the fact that in the case of Ghana, proportions cover all technical training institutions in the country. In Kenya, the figures are for the Kenya Polytechnic alone. However, in this case, the proportions are very likely indicative of the actual position of female enrolment in technical training facilities since the Mombasa Polytechnic, the only other such institute in the country, has relatively few female students. Moreover, in Kenya's secondary technical trades schools in 1972, no female students were enrolled. The statistics for Zambia are for the Evelyn Hone College of Applied Arts and Commerce. Given the name of the college, it should be apparent that purely technical courses are not offered here. These are provided at various technical institutes, colleges or trades training institutes where female enrolment is either insignificant (one or two at the most) or where considerable number of females are enrolled, this is because such colleges offer secretarial and business studies in which females form the majority. Thus, the proportions for Zambia presented in the table can be used as valid measures of the position of women in technical training bearing in mind the nature of the courses involved.

In this connection, the proportion of female enrolments in technical training institutions is comparable for the three countries since the majority of women enrolled are receiving training in secretarial science and domestic science or catering and institutional management.

Specifically in Ghana, the increase from 9.5 per cent (1965/6) to 15.5 per cent (1972/3) of females in technical institutes is a result of two factors: One, the availability of facilities for female accomodations that did not exist in the past and therefore restricted female enrolment and two, the fact that technical colleges tend to be offering more courses in such areas as domestic science and secretarial science. Thus, in 1972/3, female enrolments in technical institutes were distributed as follows: commercial courses (70 per cent); domestic science (29 per cent); technical subjects (1 per cent).

In Kenya, between 1971-1973 there was slight improvement in the proportion of females to 10.0 per cent. This enrolment was concentrated in three fields in 1973 as follows: business studies, mostly basic secretarial course (64 per cent), catering (20 per cent) and science (10 per cent). More revealing is the fact that females constitute only 29 per cent of the business studies department. This is because the area of female concentration accounts for only 23 per cent of total enrolment in the department. The net result is that while mostly women are receiving training in the basic secretarial course, the more professional courses such as company secretarialship, accounts etc. have hardly any women. Note-worthy is the increased penetration of the science area by females. This was primarily "science laboratory technician" where the proportion of women increased from 7 per cent in 1971 to 8.2 per cent in 1973..

In Zambia, female penetration of technical training was like-wise slight. Again, females were concentrated in secretarial (67 per cent), followed by paramedical training (20 per cent) in 1974. It is noteworthy that the paramedical area (radiology and physiotherapy in particular) accounted for an increasing proportion of female enrolment between 1972-4. In the commercial teacher training area women are hardly represented.

C) Technical Agriculture Training

Information on the participation of women in technical agriculture training below the university level is available for Kenya and Zambia. The proportion of women in such training in Zambia (Nature Resources Development College) is between 37-40 per cent of total enrolment. Besides nutrition which is entirely female, agriculture business management has recorded the most impressive increase in female enrolment in recent years followed by agriculture education.

In Kenya, as late as 1969 Egerton College opened up to women who have since primarily been enrolled in an agriculture and home economics combination. The year 1973 was the first year that women were allowed to enrol in other areas, with the result that 28 per cent of female students in 1974 enrolled in animal science. In this connection, it is noteworthy that between 15-17 per cent of enrolment at technical agriculture institutes at Bukara, Embu and Ahiti are women. 13 At the latter institution "animal health" training has emerged as a new area in which women are receiving training. Of a total enrolment of 96 in 1974, about 16 per cent were women.

D) Non-formal Education

The primary interest here is the extent and nature of women's participation in industry's training and apprenticeship programme and other such training. Quantitative information on this area is difficult to come by. This is probably because of little, if any, female participation in such areas. In Ghana, indications of women's participation in such programme is evident from the fact that female students receiving training in electronics at the Accra Technical Training Centre were being sponsored by private companies.14 At the Opportunities Industrialization Centre in Accra, a few women have received training in "unorthodox" areas such as plumbing and auto mechanics.

In Kenya, according to the 1972 manpower survey, a mere 2.6 per cent of all skilled industrial manpower were women. Given that the source for such skill acquisition in Kenya is industry's training programs, this would seem to indicate that female participation in such training is slight. Moreover, the fact that women are not enrolled in the basic craft training courses at secondary trades schools, from which students have greater possibilities of being recruited into industry's apprenticeship training, reduces further their chances of participation in industry's training opportunities.

At the village polytechnic level, Kenya's major non-formal education and training programme, female students comprise a third of trainees. However, their training tends to be domestic science-centered. Finally, the National Youth Service with 10 per cent women participation, spearheaded a rather unique effort at providing new occupational training opportunities for women when it began training girls as drivers.

However, the service is currently at a loss for areas in which to provide relevant training for its female intake, as it experiences difficulties in placing its female output in employment.

The discussion on education and training deficiencies was at such depth because, as indicated in the introduction, the study is concerned with the role that education and training can play in broadening the areas of female employment. The combination of the deficiencies discussed as evidenced by the relative proportion of women receiving education and training in the different areas, largely determines the areas of employment that women have access to. At the basis education level, improvement in girls relative position is essential if they are to participate meaningfully in modern sector employment. In Kenya, the recent remission of fees in the first four primary grades will result in a greater access of girls to education at that level. But the "drop-out" problem will still remain at the higher standards of primary education. In Ghana and Zambia, progress towards achievement of parity in education at the primary level will continue. At the secondary level, facilities constraint will operate as the major bottle-neck as far as improving women's relative position in varying degrees in all three countries. The progress from the secondary school system.

As regards technical training, the tendency for entry level qualifications for these institutions to rise will operate to the disadvantage of females in all three countries. In both Kenya and Ghana, developments in teacher training colleges point to this direction while at the polytechnics in Kenya and Ghana, this is already taking place. The increase in the proportion of female students at technical institutions should be assessed cautiously. It should be remembered that the enrolment is concentrated in basic secretarial training which means continued concentration at relatively lower skills level. Female students tend not to aim for the higher level professional training in commercial courses. Moreover, the pronounced absence of females from technical training _per se_ in these institutions appears to be continuing despite improvement in female enrolment at technical institutes.

The situation as regards the lack of female participation in industrial training opportunities is likely to continue under present conditions and attitudes.

The fact that in both Zambia and Kenya,"on-the-job" training and other in-plant sponsored programs will be called upon in the future to supply the economy's supply of skilled manpower requirements has significant implications. If women are not now part of the industrial labour force, which by and large they are not, then the likelihood that they will be in the future will be largely determined by the skills they are able to acquire. But these in turn will be a function of their access to employment and employability.

IV. Legislation

In its employment mission report on Kenya[15] the ILO underscores the fact that labour legislation is influential in setting the broad limits of competition within the labour market. It maintains further that in a context of growing numbers of women seeking gainful employment, changes in those provisions governing the admission of women to employment could well prove significant.[16]

At issue here is the dual impact of protective legislation governing woman's employment. Such legislation, by excluding women from certain types of work, is, in effect, restricting job opportunities for them. The prohibition of women from night shifts has limited their employment in all three countries. There appears to be a need for investigation of such legislation with the specific objective of a reassessment of their applicability under differing circumstances. All three countries have ratified the ILO conventions on equal pay and exclusion of women from certain night work and other undertakings.

As regards women's conditions of service, there are most favourable in Ghana and least so in Kenya and Zambia. In Ghana women, married or unmarried, are employed under the same conditions of service as men and eligible for full pension benefits. In Kenya and Zambia, on the other hand, the conditions of service differs for married and unmarried women. Generally, in both countries in the civil service single women are hired on a permanent basis but upon marriage, they become temporary employees and work on "contract" terms. They also lose pensionable rights. It is significant that these conditions do not apply to married women in teaching and nursing in Zambia, probably reflecting the dearth of supply in these skilled areas. Moreover, the above conditions do not apply in the private sector in these countries.

On the subject of maternity legislation, Ghana has very liberal maternity provisions in comparison with Kenya and Zambia. Although maternity benefits with half pay have been in effect in Ghana since the sixties, as of 1969, 3 months full pay maternity leave in the public sector has been in effect. In the private sector industry complies with half-pay maternity leave for three months. Recently, however, there are indications of pressures for full pay maternity benefits in the private sector.

In Kenya, until recently, married women received three months maternity leave without pay. As of mid-1974, however, paid maternity leave of two months duration is granted to both married and unmarried women in the public sector. In general, in the private sector up to three months unpaid leave is provided. However, there are some private companies that provide a certain amount of paid maternity leave.[17] There appears to be some efforts by trade unions to have the maternity benefits of the public sector written into their agreements.

In Zambia, three months unpaid maternity leave is provided in the public sector. Again, those conditions do not apply to the teaching and nursing professions. In the private sector there is generally unpaid maternity leave, though there are exceptions.

At this writing, maternity provisions are least favourable in Zambia and most favourable in Ghana. The fact that the issue is currently receiving attention in Zambia suggests that there might be some changes in the situation in the near future. The more recent efforts or demand for extension of the public sector maternity benefits to the private sector in Ghana and Kenya, should they become effective, will have important implications for female employment on the demand side. The increasing tendency for the employer to shoulder the burden of maternity protection in African countries could prove an important constraint in the broadening of women's employment opportunities.

V. Lack of Active Female Participation in Trade Unions

Field interviews revealed relative inactivity among women in trade unions in all three countries. More effective participation could provide women with a source of bargaining strength with employers as well as positioning them to better protect their interests. In Ghana, for example, where there is a progressive labour movement, a strong and progressive Employers' Association, and where women's position in economic livelihood is unquestionable, more effective participation on the part of women could yield significant results.

In Zambia, it has been suggested that the lack of vocal women's voice in the Zambian Congress of Trade Unions may help explain the lack of sufficient attention to maternity legislation to date in that country. In an address in 1970 a Zambian public figure made reference to the need for "participation of women in trade union movements. . . if women were to develop interest and feel secure in their jobs".[18]

VI. Insufficient Recognition of Women's Family Responsibilities

Despite lack of data, the position of women, oftentimes as heads of households, has been ably documented elsewhere.[19] In Kenya, the ILO mission report showed that more than a third of rural households are headed by women. With increased urbanization among women, their need for income earning opportunities will increase accordingly. In Ghana, the study by Kumekpor lends further weight to this position.[20]

The failure to give sufficient recognition to the realities of women's family responsibilities in these countries has resulted in the very erroneous and oft-repeated assertion that jobs are more important for men than women; that providing women employment will take away jobs from men etc., etc. The numerous loopholes in such arguments aside, the net result of such positions is that it throws up yet another constraint (imaginary in its conception but "real" in its implications and manifestations) to women's employability.

Footnotes: Chapter IV

1. See Eli Ginzberg, "Public Policies and Womanpower," in Public-Private Manpower Policies, Industrial Relations Research Association, ed. A.R. Webber, Frank H. Cassell, W.L. Ginsburg, (U.S.A., 1969).

2. Personal communication, Staff Development Unit, Directorate of Personnel, Office of the President, Nairobi, Kenya, September 1974.

3. Women and Work in Dar-es-Salaam, (Dar-es-Salaam, Tanzania: Department of Sociology, University College).

4. See, for example, T.K.Kumekpor, Mothers and Wage Labour Employment, loc. cit.

5. The fact that this issue has been the subject of numerous newspaper articles in both Zambia and Kenya recently is indicative. See, in particular, A. Malache, "A New Status for Women in Kenya" in East African Journal, IX, 6 (June, 1972); also Report on the Seminar, Trends in Kenya Family Law, organized by National Council of Women of Kenya Association of University Women, (Nairobi: February, 1974); Mindolo Ecumenical Foundation, Women's Rights in Zambia, Report of a Consultation, Kitwe, Zambia, November, 1970; For Ghana, See deGraft Johnson, Factors Affecting Labour Force Participation in Ghana, (forthcoming).

6. For a brief survey of the literature in this subject see A.O.Pala, "The Changing Economic Position of Women in Rural Areas," Case Studies from Kisumu District, Kenya, (IDS, University of Nairobi, April, 1974), Working paper No. 156.

7. For attempt at quantification of the "units of participation" of women in economic activities in Africa, see UNECA, The Data Base for Discussion of the Interrelationships between the Integration of Women in Development, Their Situation and Population Factors in Africa, E/CN/14/SW/37, (March, 1974). Prepared for the Regional Seminar on the Integration of Women in Development with Special Reference to Population Factors, Addis Ababa, June, 1974).

8. Employers Federation in Ghana, Zambia and Kenya.

9. See Department of Community Development, Functional Literacy Experimental Pilot Project in Zambia-Tentative Results, (Lusaka, Zambia: June, 1972).

10. See UNECA, The Data Base for Discussion, p. 33.

11. Ibid., p. 32.

12. This is the ECA definition. (FAO/ECA/SIDA, Seminar on Home Economics: Development and Planning for English Speaking Countries in Africa, (Addis Ababa: March, 1973).

13. Personal communication, Training Division, Ministry of Agriculture, Nairobi, September, 1974.

14. Fieldwork finding, Accra, Ghana, October, 1974.

15. ILO, Employment Incomes, and Equality

16. Ibid., pp. 546-547

17. One such company is the Metal Box Company, Nairobi Industrial Estates.

18. Mr. Kalenga Kangwa, Zambia High Commission in Gabarone, to the Botswana Council of Women Seminar, Denman Rural Center, Gabarone, January 9, 1970.

19. See UNECA, The Data Base; ILO, Employment, Incomes, Equality and Women in Kenya. Republic of Kenya Central Bureau of Statistics (1978).

20. Kumekpor, op. cit.

Chapter V

PROSPECTS FOR WOMEN'S EMPLOYMENT

I. Introduction

Chapter V assesses the prospects for increasing the numbers of women in employment and expansion of the range of occupations available to them. It identifies employment opportunities that could be exploited for the development of (new) jobs for women, thereby broadening their employment opportunities. The implications for education and training of these opportunities are highlighted.

This assessment is made against the background of the data and information contained in preceding chapters. In particular, the significance and implication for female employment of the following factors are taken into consideration: the overall unemployment problem facing all three countries; sectoral expansion of employment and the structural shift in employment in terms of the sector's absorption of female labour; Government's emphasis on rural transformation and development as the cornerstone of its employment programme; the demand for skilled manpower; the skills producing systems in the economy and changes in the orientation of education and training programmes; and lastly, Government's position on women's employment.

A more rigorous and thorough assessment of the prospects for female employment emphasising quantitative projections would require a detailed study of manpower survey findings. Such an undertaking will have to await the publication of results of manpower surveys currently underway or recently completed in the three countries. At such time, it should be possible to better guage "effective demand", (determined by budgetary allotments and the availability of other financial resources) thereby determined the economy's ability to translate the prospective job opportunities identified here into actual jobs.

In the absence of such information, the assessment here is bound to be incomplete. By drawing upon knowledge of Government's policy and other crucial information mentioned earlier, it is possible to undertake a broad analysis of the overall prospects for women's employment.

Given the trends in developments in the economy, one can certainly indicate those areas where effective demand and therefore opportunities for female employment is likely to develop.

In Chapter IV reference was made to the probability of the existence of a certain amount of interrelationship between constraints and prospects. In the discussion that follows, the nature of some of these interrelationships will be highlighted where relevant.

II. Implications of Six Variables for Women's Employment

A) Overall Unemployment Problem

The unemployment problem facing Ghana, Zambia and Kenya remains the major variable affecting prospects for expansion of wage employment opportunities for women. It does so directly in that its existence reflects the overall limited wage employment opportunities in the economy. Its indirect effect is best illustrated by the argument that, given the scarcity of job opportunities, employment of women takes jobs away from men and as a result discussions on widening employment opportunities for women should be discouraged. It is argued further that men being the "breadwinners" anyway, it is more important that they are given whatever jobs there are.

As regards the latter contention, it illustrates the extent of influence exerted by "contemporary influences." It fails to take into consideration the realities or women's economic contributions to the "household economies" in Africa, and the fact that women's economic activity has always been complementary to men's in African societies. Moreover, as indicated earlier, the rise in female-headed households together with increasing migration among women to the towns, "suggest that the need for women to have incomes to support themselves and their children will increase."[1]

The basic problem of women's employment in a context of growing unemployment remains a subject of much disagreement. One position holds that developing countries can ill afford the loss of the productivity potential of their women and therefore that higher urban participation rates among women are beneficial to the development process.[2]

But the more prevalent view is that expressed in the argument presented above. Boserup has documented these divergent positions at various international conferences on the subject of women's work, and shown, at some lengths, how unjustified this "unemployment scare" is. [3]

In this connection, it suffices to point out the following: 1) the transfer of female labour to the towns tends to result in lower participation in economic activities. This is because the urban areas have tended to offer women fewer opportunities to engage in economic activities in contrast to their higher participation rates in the rural economies. The net result is that the economy loses out on women's productivity. Thus, although it could be argued that the transfer of male labour from rural employment to modern urban sector employment raises its productivity, the fact that a decline in female activity occurs with rural-urban migration means that total activity per family is lowered. 2) Where wage jobs to be restricted to men, such a policy would result in even higher migration rates of males from the rural areas to urban centres, since the "terms of trade" between the rural and urban areas would become more favourable to the urban centres.[4] Increase in urban wages tend to have essentially the same effect on the pattern of migration flows; and 3) the argument fails to take account of the paradox of unemployment and skill shortages that exist side by side in African countries. Such skill shortages are constraints on the development of these economies. Moreover, given the fact that there are certain kinds of work women tend to be more suited to and perform better than men, their employment can be seen as complementary to men's, by and large. In instances where the employment of women can clearly be identified as competitive with men, this need not necessarily prove negative. Such a situation could result in encouraging or diverting men to other areas of need where they might not have been considered before. It cannot be stressed enough that wage employment will continue to account for a small proportion of total employment in all three countries for some time. Thus, there is an inherent fallacy in the argument against women's employment in that it assumes that the sum total of employment that exists in the economy is confined to the modern sector. By so restricting its perspective, it fails to take adequate account of the interrelationships between the majority sector in the economy and the modern sector.

In summarising the implications of the unemployment problem for female employment, although the impact of the general tightness in the labour market on women's employment prospects should not be under-

estimated, the existence of areas of manpower shortages and vacancies in the economy is an important factor militating against undue pessimism about future prospects for women's employment.

B) Structural Shifts in Employment

In Chapter II structural shifts in employment in terms of the various sector's absorption of labour was analysed for Ghana, Kenya and Zambia. The tendency of a shift of employment away from the primary to the secondary and tertiary sectors was observed for Ghana and Zambia but less so in Kenya. In Kenya, the distribution of employment changed very little, the exception being manufacturing and services which experienced increases in the proportion of employment accounted for. In all three countries, the teritary sector, and services in particular, tended to account for an increasing share of labour over the periods analysed: Ghana (1966-1971), Kenya (1968-1972) and Zambia (1969-1972). In terms of actual growth, however, manufacturing tended to have experienced relatively higher rates of growth than services.

Such a pattern suggests that the services sector may eventually come to account for a larger share of employment in these countries. Indeed, it has been suggested that in the developing countries, the bulk of new jobs are more likely to be located in commerce and the services. Thus, Galenson argues that whereas manufacturing is the key sector for economic growth, given the nature of modern technology, its employment absorptive capacity is limited. Its role will be to generate the effective demand leading to employment expansion in other sectors. Hence, he concludes that the growth of an efficient manufacturing industry may be an extremely dynamic factor in the generation of new employment in the services sectors of developing economies.[5]

What are the implications of such growth pattern for women's employment? It will be recalled from Chapter III that women were generally highly represented in the services sector. Moreover, in Ghana and Kenya, female employment growth was considerably higher than overall employment growth in the services. This result led to substantial female penetration of services' employment in both countries. In commerce, although growth of women's employment was more than twice employment growth in that sector in Kenya, women's penetration was small. As regards manufacturing, although overall employment growth was impressive in Ghana and Kenya, women's penetration was small in Ghana and actually declined in Kenya.

Past trends would seem to indicate continued inroads in the services sector by women. The fact that this is a growth sector viewed from the employment absorption perspective, means that women, having staked out a position in that sector, could conceivably take advantage of the growth offered by that sector. But the tertiary sector in general has been singled out as one with potential for labour absorption. This implies that commerce also holds out possibilities for women's employment. Manufacturing prospects, under present conditions, would appear relatively less encouraging.

C) Rural Transformation and Development

Earlier, the emphasis on rural development as a key element in all three countries' employment policy was pointed out. Rural transformation involves among other things, more education and health expansion and the provision of other community and extension services. This implies the generation of increased employment opportunities in the rural areas in the future.

Such a development strategy has important implications for the creation and development of a host of new job structures. In Kenya, for example, Government's expansion of health facilities throughout the country has necessitated the developmnet of the concept of the "community nurse." The demand for middle level supervisory personnel and technical agriculture extension workers that will result from development of the rural areas suggest new opportunities for women. The identification of specific occupations for women that would fit into this development will require detailed study of Government's programmes for the rural areas.

D) Manpower Shortages

Ghana, Kenya and Zambia are all faced with shortages of skilled manpower. In all three countries, shortages are considerable in teaching, nursing and other paramedical and health auxiliaries, agricultural technicians, skilled workers, technicians in the electrical trades, accounting personnel, both professional and middle level sub-professionals, secretaries - stenographers and typists, in general.

There are also shortages in the professional and other high level manpower categories. In Zambia, it is expected that some amount of technical, vocational training and on-the-job training will be required for the greater proportion of jobs expected to become available.

The range of areas in which shortages exist illustrates some idea of the possibilities for expanding occupational areas available to women. If women were to be directed into these areas of shortages and those that may be particularly suited to women's employment, their wage employment possibilities could be considerably improved.

E) The Skills Producing System

In all three countries plans either exist or are underway for changes in the education and training system to ensure the production of those skills the economy needs. As regards the education system, most of the changes tend to be concentrated at the lower levels.

In Ghana, for example, the basic elements of the new structures of education are provision of kindergarten education (18-24 months) followed by a basic first cycle education consisting of 6 years Primary plus 3 years Junior Secondary. This stage is to be basic, free and compulsory to all. The Junior Secondary Course is followed by Second Cycle education which allows pursuit of terminal courses viz senior secondary lower courses leading to the present "O" level courses, technical courses or commercial courses. The last level is the Secondary upper course ("A" level), teacher training courses or polytechnic courses.[6]

The importance of this new structure lies in the recognition of the fact that the Junior Secondary course is a terminal point for most students and the development of a new educational content to provide the terminating students with the necessary skills to fit either into industry or other employment. The emphasis in the program for girls will be on small business training (retailing, costing, accounting etc.), the objective being to build on the propensity of Ghanaian women for trading. This represents an effort to modernise the "petty trade" area where women predominate. Upon completion of such training it is proposed that a group of girls will obtain a guranteed (by the school) loan from the bank to get established in some business.[7]

The implications of the above for women's employment are far-reaching. Foremost is the fact that with large numbers of young women in receipt of some degree of formal training in the fundamentals of "trading" and business, one can expect the introduction of a certain dynamism into that area of commerce that is the stronghold of Ghanaian women. Over time, it is conceivable that this could result in the development of a considerable number of small business outlets' penetration of modern sector commerce. Moreover, with exposure of women to such training, there is a greater likelihood of their penetration of the employee sector of modern commerce than has been in the past.

One additional aspect of the new educational structure in Ghana deserves mention-the introduction of kindergarten education. This development should open up a new area for women's employment as the demand for teachers at that level is likely to be for female teacher, given the age-group (4-6 years) involved. In addition, there will probably be a need for "nursery aides" to assist with so many young ones. These could open up possible employment for middle school leavers.

In Kenya, Government has established a National Commission on Education Objectives and Policies to study the entire issue of education reforms.[8] The desire to provide a terminal form of primary education is amongst major considerations. In addition, the Government is promoting the establishment of Harambee Institutes of Technology, second chance institutions, catering to the secondary school drop-out or leaver. These institutions are expected to address themselves to specialized problems of skill development.[9] Of particular significance is the fact that Government plans, during the plan period, to give block grants to these institutions according to a set of rules. As stated in the Development Plan, the essence of the rules will be that certain courses producing manpower in areas of designated need will be supported with a per capita grant."[10]

The innovation of Institutes of Technology offers an opportunity for the introduction of training programmes that can lead to the exploitation of new areas of employment or expansion of existing areas of employment for women. In the past the types of courses offered women by the non-formal training system has tended to focus on home economics training with little thought given to areas for women's training (e.g. village polytechnics).

Rather than provision of more basic shorthand typing training and home economics courses, serious consideration should be given to training in such areas as a) food science and food technology geared to skilled employment in the food-processing industry or establishing "informal sector" activities in food processing or preservation, etc.; b) tailoring and dressmaking geared to semi-skilled and skilled level employment in that industry; c) small business management, retailing and accounts as part of a commercial program developed on the basis of skills needed for promotion and development of small entreprenurial activities; and d) guides and couriers for the tourist trades.

In Zambia, a major component of education programme reforms are the "Vocational Centres" training project which addresses itself to the Grade VII leaver. Government's inputs are the provision of a proportion of capital requirements and identification of employment opportunities, including self-employment, as well as training needs. Major responsibility for the Centres lies with local community management committees which ties in with the Development Administration structure at the District level. A number of such projects are currently underway. One such project in Mongu Province for young women involves the making and wholesaling of school uniforms to meet a rather large market demand for such products.

The above discussion has served to emphasize the possible role of the provision of opportunities for acquiring specialized skills in developing new employment possibilities for women. As opportunities for receiving specialized training become available, women's perception of employment opportunities available to them should change accordingly. As regards developments in industrial training programmes, in Kenya, the trend is one in which private industry has major responsibility for the production of its skilled manpower, either directly or through industry's apprenticeship sponsoring program. What are the implications of this for female wage employment in the future? In Kenya, in 1972, less than 3 percent of skilled industrial manpower were women. Given industry's tendency not to recruit women for its apprenticeship training this reduces the likelihood that women will constitute a part of the skilled industrial labour force to any great extent in the future. Unless there is a change in industry's attitude the prospects for women's employment in industry under present conditions is not too encouraging.

In Ghana, more indications of women's participation in industry's training programmes appear but more information is needed.

F) Government's Attitudes to Women's Employment

In none of the three countries does any official Government policy exist regarding women's employment. This is because there are, by and large, no laws restricting the employment of women. In its response to the ILO's recommendations on equity for women, the Kenyan Government maintains that it "is not aware of overt discrimination against women in the country. Women are employed in important positions in the Armed Forces, in the police, in the prisons and in the Government as well as in the private sector." 11

The above notwithstanding, it is significant that throughout my field interviews in Kenya and Zambia, acknowledgement was frequently given to the important role that the leadership in both countries has played in encouraging the employment of women. The employment of women in the protective services in Kenya, for example, was directly attributed to the President's encouragement. Moreover, the part government-owned "KENATCO" indicates that its decision to employ women drivers was a result of a general feeling that it was an "approved" practice and part of a general trend to encourage women's employment. Similarly, in Zambia, the employment of women in transportation by the "UBZ" appears to have been a direct response to moves from the "top" (The Party) to encourage the employment of women and give women the opportunity to make their contribution to development efforts.

More recently (mid-1974), the presidential decree providing half-pay maternity benefits in Kenya, to both married and unmarried women alike, indicates a feeling that women should not be penalised for childbirth. Indeed, this development, together with the provision of maternity coverage in Ghana dating back to Nkrumah, is in keeping with African value systems which place high value on children.

Thus, in both Zambia and Kenya, it is possible to identify a decided encouragement from the "top" of women's participation in the economy and development in general. This is particularly evident from newspaper articles. As a result, it can be argued that a climate more receptive to women's participation in the modern economy is being created.

In Ghana, the fact that no mention was made of Government's encouragement of women's employment is indicative of the position women occupy in the economy and particularly in trade and commerce. In short, the climate already exists in Ghana.

The above discussion of the implications of six key variables for women's employment setsthe stage for the identification of employment opportunities in the next section. Integrating the various issues treated, it can be argued that despite the unemployment problem, given focus on those areas of shortages in the economy, given the direction in which the economies are developing, given the potential of the exploitation of training programmes for creation of new areas for women, and given above all, certain attitude changes, the prospects for broadening employment opportunities for women could be much improved. The prospects are likely to be more favourable in the tertiary sector, in the services and commerce and distributive trades in particular and least so in industry.

III. Employment Opportunities for Women

The employment opportunities discussed here have no pretensions to completeness. They are, however, indicative of areas that offer possibilities for increasing employment of women as well as broadening the range of occupations available to them.. As stated in the introduction there is a certain concentration on "middle-level" occupations.

Three categories of employment opportunities are identified: traditional, new and potential. "Traditional" opportunities are those areas in which women tend to enter readily and in which they are already highly represented. "New" opportunities are those newer upcoming areas in which women are beginning to find employment. "Potential" are those opportunities which are likely to open up to women given the necessary training or in light of development in the economy in the individual countries. These are listed in the Annex. They are compiled after rather detailed study at the individual country level.

The hard core of the "traditional" employment opportunities are in the nursing, teaching and the typists/secretarial fields.

The pertinent issue here for broadening of women's employment opportunities is how can women's role be further developed in these areas? Further development would mean increased penetration and expansion of the range of opportunities available to them. As regards nursing, in Kenya, for example, the implications of the new concept of "community nurse" has already been referred to. In addition, family planning health workers will be in great demand in the future as Government intensifies its family planning efforts, yet another closely related area is the training of workers in nutrition, child care and hygiene in Kenya carried out by UNDP/FAO. Indeed, in all three countries, the provisions of training in the basics of health education and nutrition could open up an entire new area of employment. In teaching, literacy teaching, commercial teacher training and pre-school teachers and aides (Ghana) represent possible areas for expansion of women's employment. As regards the typists/secretarial and general clerical area, it is imperative that women branch out into allied areas. At present demand is substantial in this area in all three countries and it is a popular area for training in Kenya and Zambia. However, over the next ten years this occupation could well reach a saturation point. It should be recalled that women's employment in this area is concentrated at the basic secretarial level. To ensure that the clerical field continues to offer employment opportunities for women, it is essential that women enter such areas as accounts, lower level accounts and book-keeping where there are marked shortages. Pursuit of training in more professional areas of secretaryship would also broaden employment opportunities in the clerical area.

Among the"new" opportunities that have opened up to women, operators of office machines, teletypists and cashiers and machine operators in banks, tend to be an extension into allied areas of clerical work. In Kenya and Zambia, there have been increases in women shop assistants. Other new areas have been in the paramedical field, as occupational therapists, physiotherapists, radiologists and lab technicians; agriculture technicians; catering and institutional management personnel; transport workers — airline hostesses, bus conductors, ticket clerks, taxi drivers, Government drivers; the protective services — police officers, armed forces persoonel and prison workers. Increasingly, in Kenya and Zambia, the past few years have seen a rise in the number of women in small business [12] whereas this is an area that would in certain respects more appropriately fit into the "traditional" category in the case of Ghana.

"Potential" employment opportunities cover a wide range of occupations as evident from the list in the Annex. They range from private secretaries, which tend to be primarily men in all three countries, specialized office skills such as medical secretaries, through skilled industrial workers in electronics and the food industries to computer programming and related work, supervisory personnel and a series of professional occupations. They all represent specialised occupations requiring the development of specialised skills.

One such "potential" area deserving special mention is that of "tour guides" and "tour leaders" for the tourist industry. At the onset of the study, it was postulated that tourism would provide potential employment opportunities for women. The statistical commentary on Kenya indicated that while this might hold true for the tourist service industry in general, prospects in the hotel industry segment were far from encouraging. As one component of the tourist service industry, "tour guides" could conceivably develop as a new occupation for women. KENATCO transport's plans to establish a tour branch and involve its women drivers in safaris is one case in point. The important role that "precedent-setting" can play in opening up new occupational possibilities cannot be stressed enough. Thus, the National Youth Service (Kenya), by pioneering in the training of young women as drivers, has opened up possibilities for employment of women as Government drivers and taxi drivers, and now employment in the tourist service area!

The employment opportunities identified in this section have varying implications for the kinds of education and training programmes that women should be geared towards. As the proportion of women with a broad educational background increases, it should be realized that equality of education for girls could easily become equality of opportunity for unemployment. Only if the educational system is responsive to skill requirements in the economy can this be avoided. The present reforms that educational system are undergoing in all three countries are therefore in the right direction. Some illustration of how changes within the context of educational reform could result in improving women's employability was cited earlier.

Having indicated this, however, the availability and adequacy of educational and training facilities in those sectors and occupations of manpower shortages, in general, in all three countries remain a major constraint affecting the employment prospects for women. Moreover, the propensity of women to participate in such training opportunities is affected by the availability of a range of complementary measures such as hostels, to give one example. Thus, the participation of women in training at the Animal Health and Industry Training Institute (AHITI) in Kenya was facilitated by the donation of hostel facilities by the Swedish International Development Agency(SIDA).[13] In Ghana, the recent increase in the proportion of female students in technical training institutes reflects the provision of hostel facilities for women.

If a major bottleneck for expanding and broadening employment opportunities for women lies in the type of education facilities available (and these tend to be limited in general), then it follows that the opportunities identified are prospective employment opportunities for only a proportion of educated young women in Ghana, Kenya and Zambia. With the trend of rising education requirements for jobs, a certain amount of secondary school education is expected to become the minimum rquirement for most of the jobs identified.

What wage employment prospects exist for the vast majority of primary school female leavers whose numbers are on the increase? The prosepcts are far from encouraging. Indeed, in the absence of alternative employment opportunities, and given the necessity of income, some school leavers have turned to careers in prostitution out of desperation. Newspaper articles on this subject have recently emphasised the serious nature of this problem in Lusaka.

Taxi drivers, clerks, telephone operators, police officers and the like can only absorb a limited number of these girls. Thus, it becomes imperative to investigate alternatives to wage employment. Generally, it is in the area of self-employment that the majority of women outside the modern sector have been able to carve out a livelihood. There is need for a systematic study of the areas of self-employment that women are engaged in these countries. The objective would be the identification of areas in which training could be

developed to equip new entrants, from the primary school system, with the necessary skills for employment in that sector. But the provision of the necessary skills must be in conjunction with provision of certain support facilities (e.g. credit, advice, channels for marketing) if the opportunities for self-employment so identified are to materialize into actual job prospects. Without this, self-employment as a realistic alternative could prove an illusion.

Footnotes: Chapter V

1. UNECA, The Data Base, p. 30

2. W.A. Lewis, The Theory of Economic Growth, (London: 1957).

3. E.Boserup, op. cit., pp. 194-209.

4. For some insights into how Communist China utilized a similar reasoning in its efforts to stem the tide of urbanization, see Kallgren, J.K., Enhancing the Role of Women in Developing Countries, prepared under contract for USAID, AID/CM/ta-147-350, p. 57.

5. W. Galenson, op. cit., p. 518.

6. Ministry of Education, The New Structure and Content of Education for Ghana, (Accra: February, 1974).

7. Personal communication, Mrs. Al-Hasson, organiser for Women's Vocational Training, Ministry of Education, New Vocational Schools, Accra, October, 1974.

8. See Ministry of Finance and Planning, Development Plan 1974-1978, Part I, (Nairobi: Government Printer), pp. 405-412.

9. For more on this see Godfrey, C.M., "Technical and Vocational Training in Kenya and the Harambee Institutes of Technology," Discussion Paper, No. 169, (IDS, University of Nairobi, June, 1973).

10. See Development Plan, 1974-1978, op. cit., p. 427.

11. Republic of Kenya, Sessional Paper on Employment, Nairobi, May 1973.

12. UNECA, Women's Programme Unit, Mission Report on Surveys of Handicrafts and Other Small Scale Industries in Zambia, Malawi, Tanzania, Kenya and Somalia, May - June 1974.

13. Kimenya, Barbara "Animal Health—Girls who do a Man-Sized Job on the Land" in the East African Standard, (Nairobi: Mar. 9, 1974).

Chapter VI

CONCLUSIONS AND POLICY IMPLICATIONS

Chapter VI is divided into three sections. The first section summarises the main findings of the study; the second section contains the conclusions drawn from these findings. The conclusions, in turn, have certain policy implications which lead to the derivation of action-oriented policy recommendations in the third section.

I. Main Findings

In summarising the main findings of the study, it is useful to refer to the main concern of the study; how to broaden women's employment opportunities, through education, training and career guidance in order that they may achieve a greater share in modern sector wage employment. A "greater share" is defined as increasing women's absolute and relative numbers in wage employment as well as expanding the range of employment opportunities available to them.

To understand the issues involved in broadening women's employment opportunities, it was necessary to analyse the position of women in wage employment, the trends in women's employment and the constraints on expansion of their employment. The main findings of the investigation can be summarised as follows:

1) The share of women in modern sector wage employment is less than 15 per cent in all three countries analysed: in Kenya (about 14 per cent), in Ghana (about 10 per cent), and in Zambia (about 7 per cent).

2) There was no pattern indicating a relationship between the relative size of the modern sector in the economy and the extent of women's participation in that sector. Thus, in Zambia, with a greater percentage modern sector share of total employment of the countries studied, the proportion of women employed was lowest, compared to Kenya, where women's share of modern sector employment was highest, despite the relatively smaller proportion of total employment accounted for by that sector.

3) The extent of female penetration of wage employment varied considerably among the three countries. Zambia experienced the most marked increases in the participation of women in wage employment between the mid and late sixties (from 2 to just below 7 per cent); in Kenya, the proportion of women among wage earners changed very little (remaining around 14 per cent) between 1964-1972. In Ghana, on the other hand, female penetration of wage employment was impressive between 1960-1965 when the percentage increased from about 4 to 8 per cent but then slowed considerably 1965-1971 (increasing from 8.8 to about 9.9 per cent).

4) In Ghana and Kenya the one discernable trend was an increasing employment of women in the services sector, with declining employment in agriculture. As regards other sectors, in manufacturing, the share of females in total employment increased consistently in Ghana between 1960-1971 (from 5 to 8.6 per cent) but declined in Kenya between 1964-1971 (from 7 to 6 per cent). In commerce, the share of women in employment stagnated in Kenya (at 10 per cent) but increased in Ghana from 8.6 to 10.3 per cent (1965- 1971).

5) In general, the decline in the concentration of women employed in agriculture has led to more significant changes in the composition of the female work force in Ghana than Kenya. Thus, the proportion of all women employed in manufacturing almost doubled in Ghana from 6.4 per cent to 12.3 per cent between 1965-1971. In Kenya, the same period saw a one percentage point gain in the proportion of all women employed in manufacturing and a one per cent decline in the share of women in manufacturing.

6) The growth of female employment in the different sectors tended to be relatively higher than the overall growth of employment. This was particularly marked in the services areas. In manufacturing, female employment growth was higher than overall employment growth in both Kenya and Ghana but resulted in differential impact on women's employment. (see 5 supra).

7) Past trends indicate continued inroads into the services, but mixed possibilities in manufacturing.

8) Occupationally, there appears to be continued concentration in nursing, teaching and secretarial/clerical work. In the latter, women tend to be employed at the basic typist/secretarial level while their training also tends to be concentrated in that area.

9) A host of complex issues regarding women's maternity and maternal status would appear to affect women's employability either directly or indirectly. The demand for special services for working mothers, e.g. creches, etc., may tend to further aggravate a certain reluctance on the part of private industry to employ women.

10) Although tremendous strides have been achieved in terms of ameliorating girls' educational and training deficiencies, persistent high drop-out rates and lack of physical facilities continue to operate as major constraints on women's employability.

11) Increased enrolment of female students at technical schools tend to reflect the addition of courses such as catering and home science and secretarial subjects which attract women to the curriculum of such institutions.

A relatively new development, however, is the enrolment of female students in lab technician and other science related courses.

12) New developments in women receiving technical agricultural training are particularly pronounced in Kenya where women are receiving training in animal husbandry and in Zambia where they are receiving training in agricultural business management. In Ghana, the proportion of all women students at Kumasi University of Science and Technology has increased considerably.

13) Indications of women entering "unorthodox" (from the standpoint that these are not areas that women have been known to enter readily in the past) occupations: taxi drivers, government drivers, plumbing, refrigeration and air conditioning, electronics, etc.

14) Serious and growing unemployment problems, given the slow growth of wage employment opportunities, in all three countries resulting in emphasis on rural development and employment generation as key elements in Government's employment policy.

15) Manpower shortages in areas that are either particularly suitable for women's employment or that offer possibilities for the development of new jobs for women.

16) Generally positive official attitudes towards women's employment in the countries analysed, have found expressions in the leadership in Kenya and Zambia urging that women be given the opportunity to contribute to and participate in the nation's development efforts.

II. Conclusions

The findings summarised above led to the following conclusions:

(1) That there is reason to believe that the size of the modern sector may not be as important a determing factor for the extent of female employment therein as much as the opportunities for female employment offered by the modern sector (e.g., commercial agriculture and agri-business in Kenya) or created in that sector through Government or other public policy (e.g. Worker's Brigade in Ghana). This has important policy implications since it suggests that even if improvement in modern sector employment were to occur, it does not necessarily follow that women's employment opportunities will improve. At issue is the composition of employment or the nature of employment afforded by modern sector growth.

(2) Under present conditions of unemployment and relatively slow rates of growth of modern sector employment, prospects for considerable increases in the absolute and relative numbers of women in wage employment do not appear very encouraging. The absolute numbers of women in wage employment are expected to increase along with increases in total wage employment generally. But there is nothing to suggest significant changes in the absolute numbers. Likewise, past developments as regards women's relative share of wage employment, do not indicate any reason to expect significant improvements in women's relative position. In Zambia, the tremendous improvement in women's share of wage employment that occured during the mid-sixties is not expected to repeat itself. Thus, under present conditions, women are expected to continue to make small inroads into wage employment.

It is possible, however, that implementation of certain public policies affecting the development and utilization of the work force as a whole, but having particularly significant implications for women workers, could alter this prediction. Thus, changes in tax laws or expansion of child care centres (creches) may have a direct impact on increasing the participation of women in wage employment both absolutely and relatively. The significance of the "Worker's Brigade" for women's employment in Ghana provides one illustration of how public policy can have particular impact on women workers.

3) Given the limited absorptive capacity[1] of the modern sector, the majority of women will have to seek employment opportunities outside the modern wage sector. This could either be in self-employment in the modern sector or self-employment in the "informal" sector.

The scope of self-employment is relatively greater in agriculture, commerce and services though such opportunities exist even in manufacturing, in the small-scale sector. In the Philippines, for example, where the proportion of women in manufacturing is quite high, fully 55 per cent of those in manufacturing in the early sixties, were self-employed and not working for wages, indicating the extent of handicraft employment in the homes.[2] This has significant implications which will be developed in the next section.

4) In light of increasing enrolment of girls in formal education and increased output of female students from the educational system there tends to be continued focus on a limited range of occupational areas. One case in point is basic secretarial. At present, considerable demand exists in the typists/secretarial area in all three countries and salaries are particularly attractive in Kenya and Zambia. (The result of the recent salary review committee in Ghana is to make the occupational area more attractive salary-wise). Given the relatively shorter period of training required for this skill, the occupation is very attractive to young girls. However, the concentration of women in this area will not only result in saturation in the near future (certainly over the next 10 years) but salaries will tend to decline in such areas as well.

5) Given the areas of manpower shortages in the economy, opportunities exist for broadening employment opportunities for women. Encouraging young women to enter those areas of skill shortages will result in an expansion of the range of occupations available to them.

In the clerical field they include stenographers and private secretaries, accounts personnel, lower level accounts and book-keepers; in the nursing and medical area they include family planning workers, community nurses and health auxiliaries or other paramedicals. In teaching, they comprise literacy teachers, pre-school teachers, nursery aides and commercial teachers.

Among newer occupations are catering, agriculture technicians, specialised secretarial staff (medical secretaries; legal secretaries, etc.), personnel officers in Government and industry, data processing staff, tourist guides and aides, skilled workers in food processing industries, printing industry, textiles, tailoring and dressmaking (or the garment industry) and commerce, among others.

6) Despite the opportunities identified in 5 supra, women are generally not receiving the necessary training for participation in such employment opportunities that are expected to open up. Where they do participate, as in technical agriculture training, their numbers are small, due to facilities constraints among other reasons. In other cases, they lack the necessary academic training, though recent participation of women in science programmes at the Kenya Polytechnic and enrolment in medical colleges in Kenya reflect the increasing availability of specialised teachers in girls' schools in Kenya. Participation in industry's training programmes tend to be minimal in general.

7) The service sector, defined broadly to include domestic service, general Government employment, the professions, personal services (mainly restaurants and hotels), and employment in banks and insurance companies, though the latter is often included with trade and commerce, will offer the greatest potential for female employment in the modern wage sector. This will be in keeping with the increased employment potential offered by the services sector in the economy in general.

Manufacturing is not expected to provide significant opportunities for women's employment in the future. Indeed, there appears little reason, under present conditions, to expect African countries to follow the experience of the West with more women employed in manufacturing and doing factory work in general. However, it would be appropriate in industry's training programmes that they may contribute to meeting the skilled manpower requirements in relevant areas.

That there is a potential for employment of women in commerce is evidenced by the recent development of women in small businesses in East Africa and in Kenya and Zambia in particular.

8) Women's biological make-up exercises serious constraints on their employability. The experience of the secondary school leaver section of the Kenyanization of Personnel Bureau in Kenya, for example, indicates that many private firms prefer not to hire women because of the maternity problem. The fact that frequent maternity, common in all three countries, increases the costs of employing women, either directly or indirectly, places women at a competitive disadvantage in the labour market.

Where employers have to pay for maternity coverage this tends to deter them from employing women. The demand that day nurseries be provided by the employers thus making it more expensive to employ women, is expected to operate against women's employment. In the Philippines, the requirement that establishments employing 15 or more must set up day nurseries for their children resulted in many employers refusing women applicants.[3]

Hence, the conclusion here that serious consideration must be given to the full implications of the complex issues posed by women's biological make-up where employment of women is concerned.

9) The participation of women in "unorthodox" areas of training leads to the conclusion that if the opportunities for training and skill development become available, women will carve out new occupations for themselves. Moreover, it suggests that "precendent setting" has an important role to play in the process of "job socialization", used in this context to suggest that an individual or group (in this case, women) may require time before a particular job or occupational area is considered or perceived as a realistic possibility for them.

10) The important role played by official encouragement of women's employment in opening up new areas of employment to women in Kenya and Zambia (in the protective services and state transportation companies, for example), leads to the conclusion that a Government policy statement on women's employment in the context of overall national employment and manpower policy could provide a legitimate basis for the development of strategies and approaches to the fuller participation and effective utilization of women workers in the modern wage sector.

III. Policy Inplications

The policy implications derived from the conclusion arrived at above are presented here in the form of seven action-oriented policy recommendations. They are "accion-oriented" in that they indicate lines of action that a country might explore in depth for a more full participation and effective utilization of educated women in modern sector wage employment. An eighth recommendation addresses itself specifically to employment for women outside the modern wage sector.

1) A Government Policy Statement and Programme for Action on Female Employment. This is the foremost requirement for any meaningful participation of women in modern sector wage employment. It is premised on the assumption that Governments, while interested primarily in meeting their overall manpower needs, are at the same time desirous not to add to the dimensions of the unemployment problems they face. With education expansion and women pouring into a limited number of job areas (mainly "traditional" as defined in the chapter on "Prospects"), a surplus will result. Over the next 10 years the problem of unemployment among women will occasion much concern as current trends point to higher unemployment among women than men. The problem of how to make women more productive becomes crucial. A strong case can therefore be made for Government encouraging employers to make use of female labour in semi-skilled and skilled occupations in the private sector.

Where a systematic and coherent policy on women's employment forms an integral part of Government's manpower and employment policy, a legitimate basis for action encouraging women's employment exists. In Kenya, for example, it was believed that areas could be identified and a programme developed for "feeding" women into such areas, should a programme for action be promulgated. The experience of the National Youth Services, and the army with its female recruits indicates that, with open efforts on the part of the relevant authorities, it is possible to break down prejudices and force attitude changes.

A Government programme for action has implications for increasing the numbers of women employed, for women's participation in industry's apprenticeship training, thereby widening their employment opportunities in the private sector, and for employment generation since it requires that considerations be given to ways of improving women's employment. In this connection, it should be mentioned that besides wage differentials, other factors, such as women's dexterity in performing certain tasks, can be important in determining female employment. In addition, the necessity for continued mechanization in certain areas of the service sectors, which results in displacement of women, will require investigation. One case in point is the rapid mechanization occuring in such areas as sorting equipment in Kenya. Many women tend to be employed here, it being a routine manual equipment operation requiring concentration and dexterity. The same could be said for the packaging area. Such developments, particularly in the service sectors, which are by nature labour-intensive and therefore hold the best possibilities for employment, do not portend well for women's employment.

Such a programme of action might constitute part of a national machinery for the fuller integration of women in development along the lines recommended by the Rabat Regional Conference (1971).4 The essence of the Rabat Recommendations was the necessity for a focal point at the national level which would call attention, via studies and action, to the condition of women and ensure their participation in all sectors of economic and social development.

2) Reassessment of Finance of Maternity Benefits and Other Related Considerations. Legislation that places the liability for paid maternity leave on the employers tends to increase the costs of employing women. This results in a certain reluctance by employers to hire women.

In the countries studied, there is need for such reassessment in Ghana since only there is the private sector obligated by law to provide maternity benefits. In Kenya and Zambia, consideration should be given to the issue of financing of maternity benefits since there are indications that some legislation providing such benefits could become effective in the private sector in the near future.

Efforts are underway in both Ghana and Kenya to apply the maternity benefits of the public sector to the private sector. In Ghana, this would involve full pay maternity benefits for three months and in Kenya, half pay for two months. Employers in Ghana have been reluctant to go along with such a demand. Where they have acquiesced, stipulations regarding the number of pregnancies allowed over a given time period have been written into the labour contract. In Kenya, developments have not reached such a stage but there is reason to suspect a similar reluctance on the side of employers. As regards such developments, we can be certain of one thing: that face with rising cost of employing women, employers will choose against them. Hence, the necessity for reassessment of financing of maternity benefits.

The provision of benefits during maternity leave, paid out of social security schemes or public funds rather than from private employers, can make considerable difference in terms of improving women's employability.

The recent proposal in Ghana for a health insurance scheme to cover women while on maternity leave has its origin in such reasoning.

Representing an attempt to address another dimension of the maternity issue, is a proposal for reduction of frequent pregnancies among women workers. As both Kenya and Ghana have adopted an official population policy, emphasising family planning, the proposal involves the introduction of family planning talks to both male and female employees as part of their regular work routine and at the work sites rather than at a clinic. Such an approach would not require the use of public services nor necessarily impose undue burdens on Government's program. It would, on the contrary, oomplement Government's official family planning program. As part of that program Government could legislate and make compulsory the holding of family planning sessions in firms and industry, not to mention the public sector itself. Although there might well be short-term costs involved, such as the loss of output during the time alloted to these talks, the longer term benefits would be more far-reaching and far outweigh such short-term costs. The company could count on increased output from its women workers, where before frequent pregnancies affected their productivity. This is particularly likely since the proposal is one that could begin to bear results over a relatively short period of time. The experience of one company in this regard suggests that such an approach is feasible.[5] What is required then is pursuit of such a proposal with Employers' Associations in the respective countries coupled with promotion of the idea by national women's organisations and, where necessary, some measure of official support. There are indications from Ghana that the Employers' Association there would be quite receptive to such a prposal.

Lastly is a proposal for meeting the demand that employers provide "creches" and other child care services for working mothers. Such a requirement would likewise operate against women's employment. What is suggested is the establishment of such services as cooperatives by women themselves. Some system of Government subsidies could be explored together with women's voluntary organisation assistance or international aid. The experience of the development of rural child care services in Zambia and Kenya could be drawn upon in the establishment of such creches. In Kenya, the Ministry of Cooperatives' output of trained child care supervisors and assistants has already run into difficulties finding employment.

Should women as a group organise such child care centres for the urban areas, these could offer employment for school leavers with some measure of training in the basics of child care.

Re-examination of other legislation aimed at protection of working women is also called for.

3) Development of Training Programmes in Response to Changing Employment Conditions. The development of such training programmes, by changing the "traditional" employment areas that women enter, will serve to enhance their employability. Areas for which such training should be developed have already been identified in the chapter on "Prospects".

Here it suffices to emphasise the fact that, for women, vocational and technical training increases their competetive capacity to strive for employment and to make a stake in new occupations. Such training will lead inevitably to the broadening of the range of occupations available to women, provided they focus on these areas for which demand exists, and which were identified earlier (skilled workers in food processing and food technology industry, printing trades, tailoring and dressmaking, electrical work, paramedical area, commercial teaching, accounts, etc.). Apprenticeships provide alternatives to expensive vocational and technical training which could conceivably form the basis for development of training programmes as well.

Finally, the completion and publication of industrial training surveys underway in Ghana and Kenya during 1974 should provide a more realistic basis, and prove a point of departure for identification of areas in which vocational and technical training for women should be expanded.

4) A more Dynamic Concept of Vocational Guidance Counselling. Such a concept is a prerequisite for attitude changes by women themselves, counsellors and society in general for broadening women's occupational choices. By "dynamic" is meant the incorporation of trends in the employment market and recognition of the changing economic position of women in the economy.

In particular, clearly thought-out campaigns could be mounted for giving publicity to young women entering rather new and "unorthodox" types of training. Such a campaign could begin with a survey (stock-taking) of women in such areas to identify the factors involved in their choice of fields, and the difficulties experienced by them in "breaking new ground." The objective would be the incorporation of the findingsof such undertaking in vocational guidance counselling. In Ghana, for example, a number of women at the Accra Technical Centre had previously participated in training at such private institutions as Kumasi Radio and Television. Investigation of female students at such institutions could prove considerably revealing. It is not unlikely that such students were girls with science and math background who may have failed to make the relevant grade for further academic work. Should this prove the case, it has implications for taking women with such background and providing them with technical training. This is one example of how more women can be encouraged to enter areas where they have begun to gain entry. The development of career counselling programmes at the university level is called for. This is a major lacuna in all three countries. The experience with vocational guidance in Geneva suggests the kind of career counselling staff that such a programme might aim at. In Geneva, it appears that "the existence of a vocational guidance staff working without any distinction between girls and boys (has) greatly facilitated efforts to enlarge the field of employment opportunities for girls in recent years."6 Investigation of how this was accomplished should prove worthwhile.

Lastly, consideration could be given to the introduction of vocational guidance at the primary school level rather than at the secondary level only, which is the more typical pattern in the countries studied.

5) Opportunities for Career Development. The entry of women into new occupational areas identified by the study has important implications for encouraging the further career development of these women. In particular, scholarships could be made available to such women thereby encouraging further their aptitude in a particular area, assuming, of course, that such areas are those in demand in the economy. And, in general, increased numbers of scholarships should be made available for students at technical shcools.

6) Role of Women's Organisations. Women themselves, through their organisations, are well positioned to initiate promotional and publicity campaigns directed at changing attitudes among young girls about occupational choices open to them. Such organisations could, with the aid of certain key ministries, establish an in-house advisory committee on careers for girls. Professional women organisations exist in all three countries studied. They could also play effective roles as pressure groups in the initiation of programmes or policy moves to improve their employability. The National Council of Women in Kenya, for example, takes pride in the part it played in the recent provisions for maternity coverage in the public sector.[7] Another area in which such an organisation could prove instrumental might be in the initiation of discussions with employers on the proposed family planning sessions at work sites.

7) International Assistance. Earlier, the lack of facilities for women was highlighted as a major constraint on broadening women's employment opportunities. This follows from the fact that participation in training opportunities helps to open up new employment prospects for women.

This suggests an area where international assistance could help in the provision of facilities so that women can participate in the new training and employment opportunities that are opening up. Thus, in Kenya, the availability of lodgings for women at AHITI(made possible by SIDA) has facilitated the opening up of an entire new employment area, as agriculture technicians, to women for the first time.

Another area for international assistance is the provision of bursaries to enourage women in science and mathematics at the secondary school level. In some cases this may require direct support to girls' schools for specialised staff where these do not exist. In yet others, it may require the provision of funds to drop-outs from science and mathematics programmes to pursue training for skilled work in industry or other areas that would maximise previous training received. In general, some measure of general financial and other support to girls' education could conceivably have an effect on the high drop-out rates among girls, though it is realized that considerations other than finance are generally operating here.

8) Employment Alternatives Outside the Modern Wage Sector.
The recommendations derived so far have emphasised the modern wage sector. In contrast, this last recommendation is directed at the implications of self-employment prospects. Rao has pointed out that since the modern wage sector covers only a minor part of future employment opportunities, assessment of employment opportunities for educated manpower should also take account of self-employment prospects.[8] The study found this to be particularly relevant in the case of women. Moreover, a study addressing itself to the problem of employment of women would be highly urealistic were it not to take recognition of the fact that the majority of women are employed outside the modern sector.

Two dimensions of employment outside the modern wage sector are addressed. First, self-employment, within the modern sector and self-employment outside the modern sector, in the traditional or "informal" urban sector.

As regards self-employment in the modern sector, women's involvement in marketing, and other commercial activities, have historically tended to be at relatively higher levels in Ghana than in Zambia and Kenya. However, recently there has occured a movement of women into remunerative agriculture and other small business in both Zambia and Kenya.[9] This development in Kenya has been facilitated by the takeover of formerly Asian-owned businesses in that country, and in Zambia, by the 1968 Mulungushi Economic Reforms. These reforms, by restricting certain economic areas (retail trade, vegetable marketing, etc.) to Zambians, were a particularly important factor in the entry of Zambian women in trading. Government's encouragement to women to enter marketing and business in general accompanied these reforms.

Given, therefore, that it is in trading and marketing that women have attained prestige in these countries, women's capability in those areas should be developed further. Building on those areas of speciality that are peculiarly suited to women involves providing the necessary education and training to ensure their continued stronghold in such areas. It is clear in the case of commerce that education and training can play a role in improving women's employment prospect. The increased participation of women over the past three years in small business programmes at the ILO training cenre in Nairobi reflects the realization that opportunities are limited for women in the private sector, unless they start their own business.

A potential exists in small businesses in the modern sector and is expected to take hold as the opportunities for training become available.

The example of the Philippines, where a high proportion of women in manufacturing are self-employed, suggests that opportunities for self-employment in the homes also exist. In this regard, efforts by the United Nations to encourage women in cottage industries could probably profit from the experience of the Philippines.

Self-employment outside the modern sector focusses also on marketing and commerce. If women are to maintain their stronghold in these areas in the "informal sector," then training schemes geared to preparing school leavers girls must emphasise such training. Recent developments in the content of education for girls under Ghana's new educational structure is based on similar reasoning.

The experience of institutions such as the Ghana Business Promotion Bureau with assistance to market women in Ghana, could be drawn upon in the development of areas for emphasis in training in marketing and commerce for girls. The African Training and Research Centre for Women of the Economic Commission for Africa, through its "Itinerant Training" programme for trainers might incorporate such an emphasis in its training modules. The findings of study on market women in Ghana[10] might form the basis for this in the case of Ghana.

In this connection, a suggestion (from that study) calling for the formation of simple trader cooperatives as an attempt to rationalize the distribution system of marketing food commodities[11] has important inplications for areas in which training might be developed for the "informal" sector. The process of marketing foods is almost entirely conducted by women in urban markets. Consideration should be given to the possibilities of training young women in the basics of cooperatives. Skills development institutions such as the Opportunities Industrialization Centres (O.I.C.) in Ghana and Kenya might incorporate such training in their training schemes for women directed at the informal sector.

The kinds of activities that women are engaged in the informal sector suggest a variety of training programmes that could be developed to enable the further exploitation of employment opportunities in that sector.

Footnotes: Chapter VI

1. The "absorptive capacity" of an economy is usually understood to be the ability of an economy to generate useful employment for the manpower produced by the education and training system. The developing societies tend to exhibit great disparties in the ability to create new jobs and the ability to produce skills (G. Skarov).

2. P.S. Sison, "The Role of Women in Business and Industry in the Philippines," in ILR, Vol. LXXXVII, No. 2 (February 1973), pp. 113-132.

3. Ibid., p. 128.

4. UNECA Regional Conference on Education, Vocational Training and Work Opportunities for Girls and Women in African Countries Rabat, Morocco, 1971.

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6. Marion Janjic, "Women's Employment in Switzerland", in ILR, Vol. 96, no. 3, (September 1967), p. 301.

7. Personal communication from Mrs. Gichuru, Chairman, Kenya National Council of Women.

8. U.K.R.U. Rao "Educational Output in Relation to Employment Opportunities, with Special Reference to India," in UNESCO, Employment Aspects of Educational Planning, (Paris, 1968).

9. Daria Tesha, Mission Report on Surveys of Handicrafts and Other Small-Scale Industries (UNECA, Women's Programme), op. cit., 1974.

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11. Ibid., pp. 197-198.

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Annex

LIST OF EMPLOYMENT OPPORTUNITIES FOR WOMEN*

Traditional	Potential
Nursing - Registered nurses - Practical nurses - Practical nurses	Paramedical and Medical Auxiliaries - Radiography - Physiotherapy - Physiotherapy - Occupational therapy
Midwifery	- Public health workers - Nutritionists
	Pharmacists and pharmacists' aides - Dispensing techniquans
	Lab technicians
	Family Planning Workers
	Community nurses
	Basic family and child workers
Teaching (Mainly primary)	Teaching - Secondary teachers - Commercial teachers - Literacy teachers - Pre-school teachers - Pre-school aides
Social Workers	Specialised social welfare workers: - Probation officers - Medical social workers - Industrial social workers
Extension Workers - Community development - Junior agricultural assistants	Specialised rural development personnel: - Supervisory middle level manpower - Agriculture extension workers

Technical agriculture specialists:
- Veterinary assistants
- Animal Health Workers
- Agriculture business management

Traditional

Office Workers
- Receptionists
- Secretaries
- Clerks
- Copy typists, typist
- Other lower clerical
- Telephone operators

Potential

Clerical and Related Workers
- Private secretaries
- Stenographers
- Secretarial management
- Lower level accounts clerk
- Accounting and Bookkepping staff
- Office machine operators

Computer programming and related work

Specialised Office skills
- medical secretaries

Catering and Institutional Management Personnel

Vocational Guidance counselling
- Career masters

Professions
- Medical officers
- Lawyers
- Planners

etc.

General Management and Supervisory Personnel

Middle level management and Administrative personnel

Government Administrators

Personnel Officers.

Traditicnal	Potential
Sales workers	Shop Assistants Transportation workers - bus conductors and hostesses - ticket clerks - Drivers (Government & taxis) Tourist Personnel - Couriers and guides - drivers/guides combination personnel Protective services - Police officers - Army officers - Prison workers
Semi-skilled factory work:	Skilled workers in: - electronics - printing trades - dressmaking and tailoring industry - food processing industry - paper and printing industry - other machine-made products industry

* This list is illustrative and not comprehensive in any way. It identifies areas, based on a study of manpower shortages in the economy, in which demand already exists or is expected to be substantial in the near future. Its purpose is to emphasise the range of occupational opportunities that could be available to women, given the development of appropriate training and more forward-looking vocational guidance counselling.

"Traditional" employment opportunities are identified as those which have, in the past, been readily accepted as areas for women to enter and in which women tend to be more heavily concentrated.

"Potential" employment opportunities identified include relatively new areas in which women have already begun to enter and those which are not readily perceived as possibilities for women,

either by women themselves, or by society in general. Both the "new" areas and "potential" areas represent opportunities that could be exploited for the development of jobs for larger numbers of women, thereby expanding the range of career opportunities available to them.

The extent to which the designation "traditional" and "potential" in any occupational category apply will vary among the three countries. Also, certain jobs may offer relatively more employment opportunities for women in one country than in another.